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A study of the copying, dissemination and collection of  
manuscript texts in the early seventeenth century, with  
special reference to Chetham's Library MS A.4.15

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### Abstract

This thesis presents a series of studies in early modern manuscript culture based on Chetham's Library MS A.4.15 (MC15). These studies develop an understanding of the reception of texts in manuscripts through an analysis of their copying, dissemination and collection: concepts which are linked by their treatment of manuscripts collections as texts whose processes of production are indelibly registered in their physical form.

Chapter 1 reviews the methods by which scholars have engaged with manuscript collections, and proposes that a series of 'object studies' based on texts from MC15 is a strong way of engaging with the collection, allowing ready comparisons of diverse material characteristics. Chapter 2 extends these arguments through close analysis of the processes of production of several manuscript collections, culminating in an extended critical description of MC15.

Chapters 3 to 6 read a series of texts of MC15 in comparison with other copies. Chapter 3 argues that handwriting analysis gives essential evidence for different modes of copying epigrams, and suggests the ways in which they are significant. Chapter 4 presents an account of a verse libel that was copied many times in the seventeenth century; building on the work of the previous chapter, it argues that the material dimension of manuscript libels have a great deal to offer more general narratives of early Stuart history. Chapter 5 concerns letters of the second Earl of Essex, whose reception in various combinations of material in manuscript collections are best contextualised through readings found in print. Chapter 6, a study of metrical psalms, contextualizes the very limited dissemination of metrical psalms by amateur and professional scribes within a 'psalm culture' dominated by print.

Taken collectively, the chapters of this thesis attest to the heterogeneity of MC15 as a collection; through their attention to processes of copying, dissemination and collection, they demonstrate some of the most characteristic features of early modern manuscripts.

## Table of Contents

Declaration	2
Abstract	4
Table of Contents	5
List of Figures	6
Acknowledgements	8
Presentation conventions	10
Abbreviations	11
Chapter 1: Approaches to manuscript collections of texts	12
Chapter 2: Processes of collecting and copying in MC15 and related manuscripts	45
Chapter 3: Copying epigrams in verse manuscripts	89
Chapter 4: ‘From Katherins dock their Lanch’t a Pinke’ in seventeenth-century manuscripts	125
Chapter 5: Reading and collecting letters of the Earl of Essex	159
Chapter 6: The Davison psalms and scribal publication	189
Conclusion	217
Appendix 1: Manuscripts owned by Richard Farmer now held at Chetham’s Library, Manchester	220
Appendix 2: Notes on the differentiation of hands in MC15	222
Appendix 3: Contents and hands of MC15	225
Appendix 4: Contents and hands of Rosenbach MS 1083/15	232
Appendix 5: Manuscripts of the Davison Psalms	248
Appendix 6: Textual Variants between manuscripts of the Davison Psalms	249
Figures	255
Manuscripts cited	278
Printed and electronic works cited	285

List of figures

- Fig. 1. Leeds, Brotherton Library MS Lt 91, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>
- Fig. 2. Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, D258/34/36/2
- Fig. 3. Folger MS V.a.276, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 4. Folger MS V.a.276, part II, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 5. The 'Pot' watermark of Chetham's Library MS A.4.15 (MC15).
- Fig. 6. MC15, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 7. MC15, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 8. MC15, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 9. Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation MS 1083/15 (PRF15), p. 24.
- Fig. 10. PRF15, p. 118
- Fig. 11. MC15, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 12. MC15, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 13. MC15, fol. 75<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 14. PRF15, p. 31.
- Fig. 15. MC15, 58<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 16. MC15, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 17. Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/5/16.
- Fig. 18. BL Harl. 298, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 19. Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet, 61, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 20. Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 21. MC15 fol. 112<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 22. MC15, 115<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 23. MC15, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 24. MC15, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 25. MC15, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>.

- Fig. 26. MC15, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 27. MC15, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 28. MC15, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 29. MC15, fol. 30<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 30. MC15, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 31. MC15, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 32. MC15, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 33. MC15, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 34. Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (1612).
- Fig. 35. MC15, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 36. MC15, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 37. MC15, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 38. MC15, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 39. MC15, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 40. MC15, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 41. MC15, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>.
- Fig. 42. MC15, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.
- Fig. 43. MC15, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.

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### Presentation Conventions

In references to manuscripts, the full form of a repository's shelf mark is generally used – as in Folger MS V.a.276, Yale Osborn MS b 197, or BL Harl. MS 6038 – with page or folio numbers indicate as appropriate. For manuscripts that are repeatedly referenced, sigla are included in brackets after their first citation, using the STC-code based system described by Harold Love:<sup>1</sup> thus MC15 for Manchester, Chetham's Library A.4.15; PRF15 for Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, MS 1083/15; O61 for Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 61.

Transcriptions from manuscripts silently replace 'y' with 'th', and expand contractions (including crossed p) with the supplied letters marked in italics: hence *y<sup>t</sup>* becomes *that*, *pson* becomes *person*. <Chevrons> mark deletion, ^carets^ denote insertion, {curly brackets} indecipherable text (with the number of unknown letters estimated by dots) and [square brackets] editorial insertions.

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Love, 'Systemizing Sigla,' *English Manuscript Studies 11: Manuscripts and their Makers in the English Renaissance*, eds. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: The British Library, 2002), 217-30.

### Abbreviations

Beinecke	Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>ESL</i>	Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae. 'Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources.' <i>Early Modern Literary Studies</i> Text Series I, 2005. <a href="http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels">http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels</a> (Accessed August 6, 2010).
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
<i>IELM</i>	Beal, Peter. <i>Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I, 1450-1625</i> . London: Mansell, 1980. 2 Parts.
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition ed. Laurence Goldman, 2004-11.
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> . Oxford University Press. Online ed, <a href="http://www.oed.com">http://www.oed.com</a> .

## Chapter 1: Approaches to manuscript collections of texts

This thesis presents a study of the reception of manuscript texts in the early seventeenth century, in which copying, dissemination, and collection are the three principal forms of evidence. A starting point for the bulk of the research presented in this thesis is provided by Chetham's Library MS A.4.15 (MC15), a collection of verse and prose that was copied by several now unidentifiable copyists during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> The studies emerging from this manuscript, taken individually, instruct us in the diversity of forms in which effectively identical texts could be copied and collected in this period. Together, they also build up a portrait of MC15 as a uniquely diverse manuscript whose very heterogeneity (both in content and material production) is in important respects representative of manuscript collection in the early modern period.

The three aspects of the use of manuscript texts given in the title are by no means the only methods of enquiry into their reception, nor will they be treated as such here. However, in terms of reading and interpreting manuscripts they ought to be kept to the fore. The mode in which a text was copied, whether hurried or patient, as part of a long scribal stint or a short burst, judiciously laid out or scribbled in a corner, gives us a means of qualifying the value and place of the text to its copyists and readers, especially when compared with other

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<sup>2</sup> Edited and published as Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS Being a Commonplace-Book in the Chetham Library, Manchester*, 2 vols. (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1873). Although I refer to Grosart's judgements on the manuscript whenever appropriate, it should be clear that it is the manuscript itself, and not his edition, that this thesis' work is based on. As such, this thesis will not refer to MC15 as the *Farmer Chetham MS*, popular though that title has been.

manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> In MC15 – which started out as a blank book – those individual copies were only made within a more long-term practice of copying and collecting, and it is only within the results of that process that we are now able to read those texts. (In general, it is comparatively rarely that we meet texts that can be dissociated from these wider practices.)<sup>4</sup> Finally, the ways in which these texts were copied and read give evidence for trends in a larger economy of dissemination which, though always present, is only occasionally tangible.<sup>5</sup> Not only do these features arise directly from the study of manuscripts, they additionally exemplify some of the ways in which manuscript circulation differs from print publication. Comparable investigations could be undertaken of printed media, but they would differ from this study in important ways: although some printed books exist with individually printed dedication pages, the overall shape of a collection in a printed book would have been virtually impossible to have been individually tailored to the demands of specific end-users.<sup>6</sup>

In some respects, a study of the reception of manuscript texts could aspire to take a place amongst studies in the ‘history of reading’.<sup>7</sup> Until recently this might have seemed an odd combination, given the reliance historians of reading have placed on discursive response in margins, copyings into commonplace books, and other annotations: manuscripts proffer cognitive or intellectual responses to texts even less than their print counterparts do.<sup>8</sup> However, with a more resolute recent turn in histories of reading towards material evidence has come the idea of ‘book use’, a term which signals a range of interactions with texts that

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<sup>3</sup> This is particularly the focus of Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Collection is an important concern throughout, but perhaps especially so in Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> This issue is especially important in hypothetical forms in Chapter 4, and in a more tangible form in Chapter 6.

<sup>6</sup> We might compare the study of manuscript copying to studies in mis-en-page and typesetting (see, for example, Mark Bland, ‘The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England,’ *Text: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Textual Studies* 11 [1998], 91-153); of collection, to the production of printed collections of verse or prose, or the binding of printed texts together (for example Nancy J. Vickers, ‘The Unauthored 1539 Volume in which is Printed the *Hecatombphile*, *The Flowers of French Poetry*, and *Other Soothing Things*,’ *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 166-88); and of transmission or dissemination, the book trade.

<sup>7</sup> We will discuss the important trends in this field in the course of this chapter.

<sup>8</sup> Histories of reading in general have, nonetheless, suffered from problems in the acquisition of adequate evidence: see David Finkelstein and Alistair McLeery, *An Introduction to Book History* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 100.

may not in any strict sense be reasonably described as ‘reading’.<sup>9</sup> This study finds a home within this conceptual turn; copying, collection and dissemination are all characteristics of reception that we can appropriately describe as ‘use’, even if we cannot term them ‘reading’. However, some of the texts we deal with below do demand us to think more seriously about modes and forms of reading – especially in relation to letters and psalms, around which a fairly significant Renaissance discourse formed.

The thesis is comprised of six chapters. The current and following chapters are introductory and provide an orientation to critical work on manuscript collections as well as the primary sources themselves. In this chapter, an important first step will be to show that however widespread a practice it was to copy and collect texts, early modern copyists and compilers would have constructed collections free from any sense of the generic distinctions into which contemporary scholarship has corralled their manuscripts. If anything, a collection of texts would be liable to be distinguished by the rather unremarkable name of ‘book’. To treat the phenomena of collecting historically, then, it needs to be based on the means through which a collection was formed, and not through the ideal form of an end-product of ‘miscellany’, ‘anthology’, or otherwise. This is important for the thesis as a whole as it encourages us to compare manuscripts in many different forms, following individual texts through their many different manifestations without foreclosing on the kinds of text that are appropriate to study.

This chapter will then move on to an overview and critique of the resources and methods available to scholars of early modern manuscripts, and especially the form of collection known as the ‘verse miscellany’ (a term with which MC15 is commonly identified). In the case of MC15, a manuscript that lacks any information with which to place it in the context of its earliest production, it is especially important to establish a methodology. Yet

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<sup>9</sup> William Sherman opens the question of ‘a history of reading without reading’ in *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), xv.

there is no well-established, critically rigorous method with which to work on verse miscellanies. In spite of their having been approached from many different relevant viewpoints – authorial, readerly, contextual – the difficulties of the primary material make these approaches problematic in some fundamental ways. Instead, this chapter will propose that a method analogous to ‘object study’ or ‘census study’ in the history of reading; that is, tracking individual texts in their many manifestations through their many manuscript copies, is a very strong way of understanding issues in manuscripts.

Chapter 2 will expand on the first chapter by using several manuscript collections to illustrate the areas of potential and limitation that such sources involve. In particular, it will foreground how the processes of their accumulation can be an effective and engaging method of their interpretation, with reference to collections of separates and to manuscripts that made a transition from metropolitan to Welsh centres of collection. The centrepiece of the chapter will be an extended critical description of MC15, which presses the manuscript for as much evidence it can yield: doing so ultimately suggests that an emphasis on process is one of the most important ways in which to understand MC15, one of whose characteristic features is its transcription by several distinctive copyists.

The remainder of the thesis will work out the ideas exposited in the introductory chapter. Chapters 3-6 will each undertake a closely worked study of small texts that achieved their readership through manuscript transmission, and will engage in different ways with the key issues of copying, dissemination and collection. Chapter 3, ‘Copying epigrams in verse manuscripts’, is mostly focussed on bibliographical analysis, and aims to illustrate the importance of differences between styles of copying poems. Once established, these models prove to be especially important as a way of approaching verse libels, as is demonstrated in Chapter 4, which focuses on the libel “‘From Katherins dock their Lanch’t a Pinke” in seventeenth-century manuscripts’. The range of witnesses of this poetic libel extend through especially diverse forms of manuscript, and can collectively be drawn into a more general

narrative about the nature of early seventeenth-century political culture. Chapter 5, 'Reading the Earl of Essex and the collection of manuscript letters', continues to discuss manuscript texts – in this case, prose letters instead of poems – in a wider cultural context. The very extensive early modern discourse on letters and about Essex means that we can provide a fuller contextualization of the reception of letters in manuscript collections than those presented in other chapters. Chapter 6 returns to less dramatically political texts in considering 'The Davison Psalms and forms of scribal publication'. Owing to the important interventions of Ralph Crane in the copying of Davison psalms, this is one chapter in which we are able to engage seriously with questions of dissemination. The Crane manuscripts compare well with MC15 and Bodl. Rawl. D. 316, the only other manuscripts that preserve selections of the Davison psalms; through these, it is possible to build up a sense of the value and importance with which these texts were regarded as they were copied in various ways.

As this brief account of the chapters indicates, the different texts chosen for close study bring opportunities to study different types of evidence. While copying, collecting and dissemination *can* be discussed profitably as activities in themselves, they are also usefully understood as elements in terms of more general literary and historical phenomena. These key features of manuscript reception work with a range of other complementary evidence for mutual benefit. Ideally, of course, we would like to possess all of the different kinds of evidence discussed throughout all the chapters for every single text we discuss: a sense of their place in the biography of an author; the names of the texts' copyists, and the motivations those copyists had for transcribing; discursive responses to the texts themselves; and a strong sense of the place these texts enjoyed in early modern culture. Since this is not possible, we are forced to understand that the reception of manuscript texts must be studied with an eclectic and flexible approach to evidence.

*Manuscript Terminology*

MC15 is an important focal point for this thesis, as the collection which has effectively defined the choice of topics for each of the chapters. There are various characteristics that in different circumstances might best define MC15: the tendency to copy complete texts, instead of extracts; the grouping of those texts within some approximate order; or, perhaps, the transcription of texts by a variety of hands over some period of time. However, a more primal feature also deserves our attention, its status as a ‘book’, the term by which it was most likely to have been referred to by its compilers.<sup>10</sup> Although ‘book’ is probably most commonly used now to refer to a printed bound book, the word’s uses were far more polyvalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; nonetheless, they all bring attention to the material status of a handwritten text. This is in distinction to terms such as ‘commonplace book’, ‘verse miscellany’, or ‘anthology’, with which contemporary commentators may refer to this kind of collection, which stress a specific type of content (varied though it may be) most prominently. Since this thesis is keen to emphasis the different ways in which the material processes of copying, dissemination and collection could work, it is important to take some time to break down the generic distinctions that we might construct, in order to eventually consider the (more significant) material distinctions through which a material text could be transmitted.

The following review and analysis of the terminology of manuscript collections will try to suggest that taking MC15 as a ‘book’ represents an important way of understanding the manuscript.<sup>11</sup> Since it was most likely to have had its inception as a blank gathering of quires, offering some stability, this feature is especially important. While ‘miscellany’ and ‘anthology’

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<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Pomeroy remarks that “The term “miscellany,” unknown in the sixteenth century, has always been used very loosely. In this study, following modern usage, it designates any printed volume of poetry having three or more authors, even collections ascribed to a single author but now suspected or known to be by several.” Elizabeth W. Pomeroy, *The Elizabethan Miscellanies: Their Development and Conventions* (London: University of California Press, 1973), 1.

<sup>11</sup> For other discussions of the terminology applied to manuscript books, see David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 25-34, Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 14, and Derek Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters,’ *Imagining the Book*, eds. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 17-30.



are useful ways of imagining characteristically Renaissance interest in kinds of variety, they tend to ignore the fact that this was only one choice of material form that collectors and copyists could have made.<sup>12</sup>

Alexander Grosart's 1873 edition of MC15 named MC15 a 'commonplace book', and this term for verse collections held sway for many years following its publication.<sup>13</sup> As is well known, the Renaissance commonplace book would most typically consist of extracts of quotations from longer texts, somehow organized under easily accessible headings.<sup>14</sup> The commonplace book was assembled through a potentially very disciplined process, and Erasmus, Vives and Verone in the sixteenth century developed rigorous standards of how they ought to be used.<sup>15</sup> The popularity of the form was such that John Foxe attempted to sell blank books printed up with appropriate commonplace headings.<sup>16</sup> The difficulty of actually producing a completed commonplace book is demonstrated by the fact that where these are discovered today, they mostly remain blank.

While commonplacing does not necessarily closely describe the kind of work we see comprising MC15 – if for no other reason than that it includes complete texts, instead of extracts – comparable attempts to organize the poems they copy dimly suggest that verse collections might not be such a very distant cousin to the commonplace book. One well-known professionally copied collection from the 1630s or 40s divides its content into sections of 'Laudatory Epitaphs', 'Epitaphs Merry & Satyricall', 'Love Sonnets', 'Panegyricks' and

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<sup>12</sup> An important account of the merits of 'miscellany' and 'anthology' may be found in Randall Louis Anderson, 'Making Miscellanies/Making Taste: Tudor Verse and the Idea of the Anthology', Unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1997, 15-88, which unfortunately came to my attention too late for consideration here.

<sup>13</sup> Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*; compare Edwin Wolf, *The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1660* (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1949).

<sup>14</sup> Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), i; Peter Beal, "'Notions in Garrison': The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book," *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), 131.

<sup>15</sup> Ann Blair, 'Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53.4 (Oct-Dec 1992), 541. Later authors include John Cosin in the 1630s and John Locke in the 1670s; Beal, "'Notions in Garrison",' 139-140.

<sup>16</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 130-138.

‘Satyres’, each of which is marked in substantial and clear script at the start of sections and then on headlines across the folds throughout the sections.<sup>17</sup> Others do so less rigorously: one book has sections for ‘Verses. Poems. Sonnets. Moral and Divine.’ and ‘Songs. Ballads. Libels’,<sup>18</sup> while Robert Bishop’s collection from the 1620s marks out two sections – “Women prayed” and ‘Epitaphs’ – with miscellaneous selections in between.<sup>19</sup>

These attempts to invest in the structuring of material, without any clear organizational strategy, evoke Peter Beal’s notion of a ‘commonplace book mentality’ in the seventeenth century, with the verse miscellany representing the “pleasurable” rather than strictly “useful” side of the genre’.<sup>20</sup> The fact that it might be better thought of as a mindset than as a proficient practice is witnessed by the frequent failure of strict commonplacing: as well as the fate of Foxe’s volumes just noted, in one example given by Earle Havens, a copy of an essay ‘Of Common Places or memoriall Bookes’ is followed by entries that ‘neglected to adhere to any of these instructions and recommendations’.<sup>21</sup> A reader like Ann Bowyer would happily compile literary quotations in a fairly haphazard way, reducing her reading to the ‘sententious and proverbial’ without concern for a restrictive intellectual structure.<sup>22</sup>

We end up, then, with the commonplace book being something less than a genre, and being in actuality representative of a culture in which note-taking, copying and collecting in various forms (disciplined or otherwise) were extremely widespread. In this situation, to regard MC15 and its comparators as forms of ‘commonplace books’ is potentially misleading at a

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<sup>17</sup> Folger MS V.a.103, 2<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>, whose divisions have been well documented in Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire, and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 43, and in Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 249. Our immediate concern is not whether or not the compiler adhered closely to these headings, but rather the extent to which the headings could conceivably be used for navigation and access.

<sup>18</sup> McRae, *Literature, Satire*, 43.

<sup>19</sup> Rosenbach MS 1083/16, pp. 13-61, 89-118.

<sup>20</sup> Beal, “Notions in Garrison”, 143.

<sup>21</sup> Earle Havens, *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2001), 65.

<sup>22</sup> Victoria Burke, ‘Women and Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Culture: Four Miscellanies,’ *Seventeenth Century* 12.2 (Autumn 1997), 140. See also Victoria Burke, ‘Ann Bowyer’s Commonplace Book (Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 51): Reading and Writing Among the “Middling Sort”,’ *Early Modern Literary Studies* 6.3 (2001) <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/06-3/burkbowy.htm> accessed 2 September 2010. For the purposes of the latter essay, Burke treats Bowyer’s volume as a kind of commonplace-book ‘proper.’

very basic level. A major problem with the idea of a ‘commonplace book’ is that it specifies a little too closely the terms in which a reader or compiler was supposed to engage with the text. Even allowing for commonplacing as a more general, cultural phenomenon, and permitting the interesting historical proximity between the different forms, ‘commonplace book’ clearly indicates an active and interested readerly engagement with the texts in hand. It does not allow for the ‘pure writing’ of a disinterested scribe, which must always be a consideration in studying how complete texts were copied. So: ‘commonplace book’ may not be an absurd name for a collection of texts but it is not historical, and is potentially misleading.

The preferred term in contemporary scholarship is ‘miscellany’, a word far less expressive of a commitment to the digestion of reading than ‘commonplace book’. Often combined with an adjective – ‘verse miscellany’, ‘personal miscellany’, ‘political miscellany’ – it covers a potentially enormous range of collections, and could potentially describe ‘any kind of volume in which a mixture of literary compositions ... are collected together’, as Peter Beal has described.<sup>23</sup> Used in relation to a vast range of texts, from Medieval manuscripts to printed collections of the eighteenth century, ‘miscellany’ has a surprisingly strong currency. Yet Elizabeth Pomeroy reminds us that ‘the term “miscellany,” [was] unknown in the sixteenth century’,<sup>24</sup> and even in the seventeenth it did not manage to gain a particularly strong set of connotations for books in print or manuscript. A number of books in the early seventeenth century were printed under that name: for example, *A Helpe to Discourse or a Misellany of Merriment* and *A Mirrour of Presence, or a Miscellany, Containing some Philosophicall Differences of Presence, and Theologicall Differences of the Presence of Christ* are apparently forms of catechism, set out in the form of questions and answers.<sup>25</sup> ‘Miscellany’ books in this period seem to tend towards didactic religious literature, a more weighty instance being *The Miscellanie, or, A*

<sup>23</sup> For numerous examples, see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 255, 429-30; the given quotation is from 255.

<sup>24</sup> Pomeroy, *The Elizabethan Miscellanies*, 1.

<sup>25</sup> William Basse, *A Helpe to Discourse or a Misellany of Merriment* (London: Bernard Alsop for Leonard Becket, 1619), with many subsequent printings; *A Mirrour of Presence, or a Miscellany* (1638).

*Registrie, and Methodicall Directorie of Orizons*.<sup>26</sup> The usage commonly adopted in manuscript studies, today (and as specified by Beal in the above statement) only had its first recognisable instance in 1638, according to the *OED*. Indeed, it could even occasionally have been used for manuscripts around that time: one compiler entitled his manuscript collection 'MISCELLANIES: OR A Collection of Diuers Witty and pleasant Epigrams, Adages, poems Epitaphes &c: for the recreation of the ouertravelled sences'.<sup>27</sup> This is, however, a rather unusual case, since only in the eighteenth century did 'miscellany' begin to describe a collection of contemporary poetry (as listed in the *OED*).<sup>28</sup>

Carrying with it some of the benefits and problems of 'miscellany', the term 'anthology' has started to appear in critical discourse as a similarly inclusive term of description. With an etymological basis in the Greek *anthologiai*, 'a collection of epigrams', it is pleasingly appropriate to literary collections, though its alternative genealogy of *anthologia* makes it more generally 'a gathering of flowers'.<sup>29</sup> As with 'miscellany', the term would have been known throughout the early seventeenth century, though most likely specifically in reference to the Greek Anthology. Nonetheless, a sense of 'anthology' in its modern usage does seem to have been recognised at this time: for example, *A Garden of Spiritual Flowers* seems to draw on the etymological background that would be drawn out more fully by later authors, even if the word 'anthology' is not used in its title.<sup>30</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, 'anthology' seemed to have been used exclusively to refer to the Greek

<sup>26</sup> Paul Wentworth, *The Miscellanie, or, A registrie, and Methodicall Directorie of Orizons* (London: William White and Thomas Creede, 1615).

<sup>27</sup> Rosenbach MS 1083/16, title page.

<sup>28</sup> That is, in the periodical *The Muses Mercury: or the Monthly Miscellany*, published in monthly installments between January 1707 and 1708.

<sup>29</sup> Beal, *English Manuscript Terminology*, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Rogers, William Perkins, George Webbe and Miles Mosse, *A Garden of Spiritual Flowers* (London: T. Pauier, 1609), which was reprinted many times. Compare *Royalty and Loyalty or A Short Survey of the Power of Kings over their Subjects: and the Duty of Subjects to their Kings*, (No place of publication or printer: July 1647), p. 61, 'a man should compose an *Anthologie* of never so excellent precepts, sentences and examples out of the garden of divine and humane writings, and propound them as so many sweet flowers to the use and benefit of the common good'.

Anthology, and it was not until the 1793 publication of *The English Anthology* that it was used specifically for a collection of contemporary vernacular verse.<sup>31</sup>

The fact that both ‘miscellany’ and ‘anthology’ possess conflicting historical significations is not the major problem for either term; the uses are liminal and occasional, and have not descended into common usage at the present time. We can forget or ignore the meanings we do not want, and allow circumstance to dictate the meaning that we do want. But there is a problem in that on the whole both ‘miscellany’ and ‘anthology’ seek abstractions from the processes that went in to making up that particular array of texts. Their emphasis is on content, not on material form. While that sounds as if it may be an advantage, giving the anthology or miscellany an ability to cover many different bibliographical units under one umbrella term, in actuality ‘miscellany’ is almost never used to signify anything other than a book. Although this may be an important feature of a manuscript like MC15, and is sure ground for comparisons with other primary sources, it is by no means the only basis for comparison and study.

The early modern owners and readers of MC15 and other comparable manuscript books felt none of the modern commentators’ urge to name them in any particularly special way. Nonetheless, plenty of evidence survives for their description. Constance Fowler famously asked her brother Herbert for ‘some verses, for I want some good ones to put in my booke’;<sup>32</sup> countless examples survive from inscriptions in early modern manuscripts, such as ‘margaret marriat her Book’ (fig. 1), and in Latin, ‘Iohannes Gell est verus possessor huius libri’ (fig. 2).<sup>33</sup> Subsequent owners of Yale Osborn b 356 mark their engagement in procession, with ‘Robert Ford his book’ and ‘William Iacob his book’.<sup>34</sup> To these book owners, the collections of poems they wrote of and wrote in were to be distinguished principally on

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<sup>31</sup> *The English Anthology*, 3 vols. (London: C. Clarke, 1793).

<sup>32</sup> Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 2, quoting from Arthur Clifford, ed., *Tixall Poetry, with notes and illustrations* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne, 1913).

<sup>33</sup> Leeds, Brotherton library Lt 91, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>; Derbyshire Record Office, D258/34/36/2.

<sup>34</sup> Yale Osborn b 356, [p. 329], inverted, [p. 331].

bibliographical grounds: while their content was copied in whatever way it was, their status as a 'book' was worth noting.

As Peter Beal has written, 'book' is an extremely open term that has 'been applied historically to almost any kind of written document, both bound and otherwise.'<sup>35</sup> If it is permissible to choose to identify the 'book' slightly more narrowly than this, as some form of codex, then the term becomes very useful to us. It is distinct, for example, from 'papers': and as Jonathan Gibson points out in the more specific case of the 'paper book', the term draws attention to the material form in which a collection was made, without depending on any assessment of a given volume's content.<sup>36</sup> MC15 was first a book; then it turned out to be used for the ends of collecting. Using a book was as much of a choice as was the turn to collect. We should, therefore, undertake to think of MC15 as a 'manuscript book collection'. It is comparable to others on the grounds of its bookishness, on the grounds of its status as a collection, and perhaps sometimes simply on the grounds of its being a manuscript. However interesting the heterogeneity of its content may be, it need not be the first concern we encounter in the study of the manuscript.

#### *Manuscript Verse Miscellanies and Scholarship*

Collections of complete texts, put together in a book like MC15, have received a good deal of critical attention, in a broader tradition of writing about English literary manuscripts. The increasing scholarly interest in literary manuscripts has meant, that collections are, in turn, now receiving more attention than ever before. To a great extent this has been stimulated and encouraged by an ever-increasing range of reference resources, which those books representing many discrete works of diverse provenance, are as time-consuming to produce as they are useful to scholars. A landmark for collections, as in the whole field of English

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<sup>35</sup> Beal, *English Manuscript Terminology*, 43-44.

<sup>36</sup> Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting Off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books,' *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture, 1580-1730: Texts and Social Practices*, eds. James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), 208-28.

manuscript studies, was with the 1980 publication of the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1625*, compiled by Peter Beal (henceforth *IELM*).<sup>37</sup> Since then, the resources available with which to find texts in manuscripts have increased enormously, and have been augmented by both comprehensive surveys of the primary sources and a range of studies in more specific niche areas.

In these studies, manuscripts have been approached from the many subject positions that generate a manuscript's meaning, whether that of the author, the reader, or the context in which they were produced.<sup>38</sup> Something of this range is reproduced in the varying studies of manuscript collections, for which the important positions surrounding the texts are not always so clearly definable. The works copied into collections are typically well detached from their authors; readers seldom leave traces of their engagements with or responses to the text; compilers scarcely ever give any kind of rationale for their selection of texts; and even what immediate social environments they reflect is difficult (or impossible) to establish. As we will discuss in some depth, below, each position has its own difficulties. In an effort to overcome them, a scheme of work primarily focussed on the variations and media of the text itself will be proposed as the most effective solution.

Prior to the work of *IELM*, few would have been able to guess at the abundance of material that it could index, as illustrated by the comparative naivete of the enterprise itself: motivated as a business venture, the *IELM* was intended to produce a *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* for the hand-written medium.<sup>39</sup> The importance of the *IELM* went far beyond a role as an 'indispensable source of reference', as John Horden optimistically expressed at the time of its first publication, and it proved instead to be a foundational aid in a

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<sup>37</sup> Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I, 1450-1625: Part I, Andrewes-Donne* (London: Mansell, 1980); Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I 1450-1625: Part 2 Douglas-Wyatt* (London: Mansell, 1980).

<sup>38</sup> On the importance of the different forces involved in the production of material texts, see Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), 9-26.

<sup>39</sup> Horden, 'Preface,' xi; Peter Beal, 'The *CELM* Project' at 'Reading Material: Technology, Text, Interpretation' held at Chetham's Library, Manchester, January 23rd 2009.

field whose dimensions were not imagined.<sup>40</sup> The area of study that it has most radically opened up has not to do with authorial manuscripts, but with copies: both scribal copies, and those produced in what Harold Love describes as ‘user publication’.<sup>41</sup> By empirically proving the extent of early modern manuscript circulation, the *IELM* specifically facilitated such major projects as the *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, and generated such interest in manuscript studies that the series *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* was inaugurated in 1989.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of its comprehensiveness, the *IELM* did have some significant omissions that have had to be addressed through other projects. No women writers’ work was included in the volumes covering 1425-1625, a shortcoming that has since been addressed extensively by the *Perdita* project, a major catalogue of women’s manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> Neither did works with unknown or anonymous authors have any place in the index, in spite of the prevalence of unnamed poems presented in early modern manuscripts. Since then, many greater resources based on first-lines have been produced, most notably condensed in the ‘Union First Line Index of English Verse’ hosted by the Folger Shakespeare Library, featuring data from the Bodleian, British Library, Folger, Huntington, Beinecke, and Brotherton libraries.<sup>44</sup> A search for multiple copies of texts that would until recently have involved a great deal of time and labour can now be accomplished in a matter of minutes.<sup>45</sup> The ongoing need for a centralised

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<sup>40</sup> Horden, ‘Preface,’ in Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, xi. Paul Hammond described the volumes covering 1625-1700 as ‘one of the most important contributions ever made to seventeenth-century studies.’ Paul Hammond, ‘[Review of Peter Beal (ed.). *Index of English Literary Manuscripts. Vol. II, 1625-1700; Part 2, Lee-Wycherley.*],’ *The Review of English Studies* 46.183 (Aug 1995), 384.

<sup>41</sup> For ‘user publication’ see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 79; for more on the idea of copying, see Andrew Gordon, ‘Copycopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,’ *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730*, eds. James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), 65-57.

<sup>42</sup> Gary Stringer and William Bedford Clark, ‘Special Feature: An Interview with Gary A. Stringer on the Variorum Donne,’ *South Central Review* 2.2 (Summer 1985), 81-82.

<sup>43</sup> For a description, see ‘Perdita Manuscripts 1500-1700’, <http://www.amdigital.co.uk/collections/Perdita.aspx>, accessed 13 September 2011.

The later early modern volumes of the *IELM* did manage to include Aphra Behn.

<sup>44</sup> Carolyn W. Nelson, *Union First Line Index of Manuscript Poetry*, 2009, Folger Shakespeare Library, Available: <http://firstlines.folger.edu/>.

<sup>45</sup> For an illustration of the labours this might involve, see Jean Klene, ed., *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book Folger V.b.198* (Tempe, Arizona: Renaissance English Text Society, 1997), xxiv, n35.



resource in this particular field has been acknowledged in the forthcoming revision to the *IELM*, the internet-based *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700 (CELM)*.<sup>46</sup> All of these sources mean that searching for manuscript materials is swift and extensive – even if not yet fully comprehensive. Furthermore, more and more projects are undertaking to make complete sets of digital images of manuscripts available online: the Cambridge-based *Scriptorium* project has made a range of literary manuscripts available at no charge, as has an initiative from Harvard.<sup>47</sup> Subscription-based services now provide users with a potentially enormous range of manuscripts online: those of the Brotherton Library, the Gale microfilm series *British Literary Manuscripts Online, Medieval and Renaissance*, as well as State Papers Online.<sup>48</sup>

These resources are as valuable as they are only because of an equivalent scholarly labour in making sense of what scattered evidence they represent.<sup>49</sup> The major books of Harold Love and Henry Woudhuysen especially remain indispensable and widely-cited guides.<sup>50</sup> Both are ultimately concerned with editorial problems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but these are clearly understood to be inseparable from wider issues in the copying and dissemination of manuscripts. Love's willingness to seek conceptual models for the circulation of early modern manuscripts is especially useful for imagining the way in which the manuscript system worked, while Woudhuysen's extensively referenced work provides essential information on all aspects of circulation. The critical work of Peter Beal,

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<sup>46</sup> <http://celm.cch.kcl.ac.uk>. As of September 2011, the catalogue has been partially launched.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Beadle, Colin Burrow, Raphael Lyne and Andrew Zurcher, *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online*, 2006-2009, Available: <http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk/>, 26 November 2009. *Open Collections Program: Reading, Commonplace Books*, 2010, Available: <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/reading/commonplace.html>, 22 April 2010.

<sup>48</sup> These are all subscription-based services advertised at '17th and 18th Century Poetry from The Brotherton Library, University of Leeds', <http://www.ampltd.co.uk/online/Literacy%20Manuscripts/index.aspx> [sic]; 'British Literary Manuscripts Online: Medieval and Renaissance' <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/literature/british-literary-manuscripts-online-c16601900.aspx>; 'State Papers Online: The Complete Collection', <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>. All accessed 13 September 2011.

<sup>49</sup> For a more general comprehensive account of recent studies in early modern manuscripts, see Noel J. Kinnamon, 'Recent Studies in Renaissance English Manuscripts (1996-2006)', *English Literary Renaissance* 38.2 (Spring 2008), 357-83.

<sup>50</sup> Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), and H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

too, on professional scribes has made an important contribution to the field.<sup>51</sup> The value of such wide-ranging studies lies in their wilful disregard for disciplinary divisions over the content of manuscripts, with their focus remaining intently on the character of manuscript circulation. Nonetheless, work on overtly ‘literary’ material has continued to prove an important point of departure. For poetry, Arthur Marotti’s work on the lyric remains an important touchstone, while further work been devoted to the works of many canonical writers.<sup>52</sup> As mentioned above, manuscript studies has significantly assisted in the development of studies of women’s writing, now the subject of many articles and anthologies.<sup>53</sup> Early modern drama, by contrast, has been the subject of bibliographical investigation for a long time, and scholarship in the field always maintained a firm consciousness of manuscript sources; but the production of critical work with an increased emphasis on the manuscript form itself has happened more recently.<sup>54</sup> Outside of the standard patterns of literary enquiry, literary-minded scholars are taking on forms of writing that would once have only been used for their ‘documentary’ status. In doing so, they defamiliarise what might appear to be the transparent conditions of those texts’ production and dissemination.<sup>55</sup>

The topic of this thesis demands that the criticism on collections, and especially the ‘verse miscellany’, is given some special attention. In spite of a reasonably solid base of writing in the field, no intellectual consensus on the most effective method of approaching

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<sup>51</sup> Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> See, for example Scott Nixon, “‘Ask me no more’ and the Manuscript Verse Miscellany,” *English Literary Renaissance* 29.1 (December 1999), 97-130; Paul Hammond, ‘Marvell’s Coy Mistresses,’ *Reconstructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission*, eds. Maureen Bell, Shirley Chew, Simon Eliot, Lynette Hunter and James L. W. West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 22-33, as well as Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

<sup>53</sup> See for example, Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson, eds., *Early Modern Women’s Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) and Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright, eds., *Early Modern Women’s Manuscript Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

<sup>54</sup> For more recent work in the field, Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority and the Playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006) and Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> For some further examples relating to ‘documents’, see Jonathan Gibson, ‘Significant Space in Manuscript Letters,’ *The Seventeenth Century* 12.1 (Spring 1997), 1-9; Elizabeth Yale, ‘With Slips and Scraps: How Early Modern Naturalists Invented the Archive,’ *Book History* 12 (2009), 1-36; Andrew Gordon, “‘A Fortune of Paper walls’: The Letters of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex,” *English Literary Renaissance* 37.3 (Nov 2007), 319-36.

manuscript collections has ever been advanced. Although all methods have had their strong points, many have weaknesses that prohibit the facilitation of more thorough interpretations of the manuscript texts. One of the more traditional uses of miscellanies has been for varied forms of editing: for the discovery of new poets and the expansion of existing canons as well as the diverse textual witnesses they offer. Alternatively, more recent studies have shifted attention on to the reader, reading the verse miscellanies as manifestations of a compiler's taste. Another way of approaching reader- and reception-based studies has been to read miscellanies in their imagined context in some kind of 'social grouping'. While a reader-oriented approach to miscellanies is, it would seem, the more preferable of available options, it is one that needs significant work. In place of these, there is a need to re-assert the importance of the text itself, and the transformations it undergoes at the hands of copyists. We need to find ways of exploring the reading experience in and around those texts.

Since verse collections often present well-known poetry alongside much more obscure texts, it is perhaps inevitable that they have been used to discover the work of new poets. John Bentley<sup>56</sup>, Nicholas Hare,<sup>57</sup> Anne Southwell and Octavia Welsh<sup>58</sup> are just a few of the names whose writings have been found primarily (or solely) in manuscript collections. Similarly, texts from miscellanies can be used to expand (or at least, complicate) the canons of authors whose reputation has already been well established. The famously rediscovered 'lost' Shakespeare poem, 'Shall I die?',<sup>59</sup> was found in a verse miscellany, and it was verse miscellanies that enabled Lara Crowley to attribute a version of 'Psalm: 137' to John Donne.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps a

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<sup>56</sup> William H Bond, 'The Cornwallis-Lysons manuscript and the poems of John Bentley,' *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, eds. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: 1948), 683-94.

<sup>57</sup> John Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare,' *Review of English Studies* 11.44 (1960), 365-383. There are comparable examples of non-holograph poetic discoveries: Guillaume Coatalen, 'Unpublished Elizabethan Sonnets in a Legal Manuscript from the Cambridge University Library,' *The Review of English Studies* 54.217 (2003), 552-65.

<sup>58</sup> Millman and Wright, eds., *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, 59-76, 214-228.

<sup>59</sup> Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, with, John Jowett and William Montgomery, eds., *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 450-455.

<sup>60</sup> Lara M. Crowley, 'Donne, not Davison: Reconsidering the Authorship of "Psalm 137",' *Modern Philology* 105.4 (May 2008), 603-36.

slightly less ‘authorial’ mode of canon-expansion lies in the documentation of whole swaths of poetic texts on particular themes that never entered print which have been recovered from miscellanies. Most notably, forms of political poetry from throughout the seventeenth century have now been recovered, and ordered into convenient editions; the online edition of *Early Stuart Libels* and the volume of civil war texts, *Poetry and Revolution*, are two particularly interesting examples.<sup>61</sup>

Even when ‘complete’ miscellany volumes have received dedicated editing, the motivation has often been related to the expansion of literary canons. MC15, for example, was edited fortuitously early at the hands of the massively prolific and sometimes inattentive Alexander Grosart.<sup>62</sup> Although he is not exactly clear on his motives for this editorial project, Grosart discovered in MC15 poems that could add ‘to the (relatively) scanty Verse of so truly masterful a man and poet’ as Sir John Davies, whose poetry he had edited some years earlier.<sup>63</sup>

But novelty and originality have not been the only motives to make editors dip their hands into miscellanies; the variant texts they present offer ways to establish a firm authorial text. As much was realised long ago in Margaret Crum’s edition of Henry King, Harold Love’s edition of Rochester, and the monumental ongoing Donne *Variorum*.<sup>64</sup> The forthcoming editions of Herrick and Jonson will include similarly wide surveys of poetic witnesses.<sup>65</sup> The motivations for doing so are at least two-fold. When so few authorial holographs remain for

<sup>61</sup> Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, ‘Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources.’ *Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series I, 2005 <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels> (Accessed August 6, 2010) (subsequently cited as *ESL*); and Peter Davidson, ed., *Poetry and Revolution: An Anthology of British and Irish Verse 1625-1660* (Oxford: OUP, 2006). See also Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), which organizes the genre of clandestine satire into a first line index without editing the texts. Steven May and Alan Bryson are currently working on an edition of sixteenth-century libels.

<sup>62</sup> On Grosart, see Arthur Sherbo, ‘Grosart, Alexander Balloch (1827–1899),’ in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11659> (accessed 10 Oct 2007). For another early edition of a miscellany, see *The Bannatyne Manuscript*. 7 vols. (Glasgow: Printed for the Hunterian Club, 1896).

<sup>63</sup> Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, vi–vii.

<sup>64</sup> Harold Love, ed., *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). At the start of Crum’s discussion of ‘miscellaneous copies’, she reports finding only ‘a few variants which there is reason to accept as genuine early readings, amongst a host of differences which must be described as genuine.’ Margaret Crum, ed., *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 55–62.

<sup>65</sup> Within David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, eds., *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2012) and Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly, eds., *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming).

major early modern poets, there is an urge to find out ‘what the author wrote’, which is surely more complicated than in later ages, and which is exacerbated by the high probability of frequent authorial revision.<sup>66</sup> But in addition, the urge now is to recognise the increased importance of the responses of individual readers. As Marotti writes, it is now the case that ‘Allegedly corrupt texts ... do *not* have to be justified as alternate authorial versions of works to merit our attention’, since all the variety of changes those texts underwent are of interest to a reader-oriented arena of study.<sup>67</sup> As in the case of canon-expansion, editions of ‘complete’ manuscripts have also been drawn in to serve this end – an aim particularly expressed in the many editions of manuscripts presented in PhD theses.<sup>68</sup>

Editing complete manuscripts has only rarely achieved any kind of firm critical status. Yet, there are signs that the editing of such texts might be now being approached with a newly firm critical consciousness. Valuable as they are for tracing the potentially enormous variety of highly significant variant texts, Steven May has indicated that the field of possibilities for editing is enormously wide.<sup>69</sup> However, as we will later see, there is potentially much more to manuscripts than anthologies alone, and much more to collections than variants alone.

If miscellanies *are* useful for exploring reader-oriented literary histories, editing them does not alone demonstrate to us how a ‘whole’ volume ought to be used to approach issues

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<sup>66</sup> Although undertaken with acknowledged practical limitations, ‘ideally stated, the goal of our work on the text’ in the *Variorum* Donne ‘is to recover and present exactly what Donne wrote’, Ted-Larry Pebworth, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne, Volume 2: The Elegies* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), xlix–liii. On revisions, see Gary Stringer, ‘An Introduction to the Donne Variorum and the John Donne Society,’ *Anglistik* 10 (1999), 85–95.

<sup>67</sup> Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 148.

<sup>68</sup> See Laurence Cummings, ‘John Finet’s Miscellany,’ Unpublished PhD thesis, Washington University, 1960, iii; and somewhat less assuredly, James L Sanderson, ‘An Edition of an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Collection of Poems (Rosenbach MS. 186 [1083/15]),’ Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1960, ii–iii, and Steven W. May, ‘An Edition of Cambridge University Library Manuscript Dd. 5.75,’ Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1968. This tradition of scholarship is one identified in Love, *Scribal Publication*, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Steven W. May, ‘Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors,’ *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 11 (2002), 203–216. For an effective recent edition (though unpublished) see Maria Reardon, ‘The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England: A Study of British Library Manuscript Additional 22601 and Related Texts,’ Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2007; also, an authorial miscellany (albeit not wholly applicable to the ends of this thesis), John Gouws, ed., *Nicholas Oldisworth’s Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24)* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Conjunction with the Renaissance English Text Society, 2009).

in readership and reception. In spite of the value miscellanies intuitively appear to have, producing substantive reader-oriented critical remarks on verse miscellanies has proved difficult. The question has found a response through two subtly different trends in scholarship. Given the effort that would have been required simply to copy texts by hand, some scholars have read miscellanies in terms of the ‘guiding intelligence’ of readers and copyists, expressed through the organization and sorting of the material expressed in the books.<sup>70</sup> And, given the dependence on other people that a lone compiler or copyist necessarily had, others have moved outwards from a central reader, to consider the ‘social groupings’ which are manifest, reflected, or represented in miscellany manuscripts.<sup>71</sup> Pursuing either strand is contingent on the necessities of manuscript production; studies of social transactions and of taste have at the heart a kernel of truth, the motives and situations without which the collection of manuscript texts could not have taken place. However, deficiencies in the evidence we have available for the most part mean that extrapolating beyond those truths is almost always problematic, grounded in wishful thinking and learned guesswork. As such it is necessary to discover methods of estimating reception in manuscripts that are more substantially grounded in material evidence.

Ultimately, the evidence that forms of the ‘verse miscellany’ offer for the study of reception is scant. As with printed books, they sometimes offer signs of reader’s responses, in curious symbols and opaque annotations, but their scarcity combined with their opacity mean that such marks are difficult to imagine as an especially firm object of study outside of an extremely extensive collection-level survey. Instead, the response to texts has been traced in the arrangements of those texts that compilers produced. The intelligence has been supposed to be manifest in manuscript in many degrees, from a simple force that decided to include one

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<sup>70</sup> Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book,’ 18.

<sup>71</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, 83.

or another poem, to the will of a compiler to create provocative literary patterns over the course of many poems.

With some recent exceptions, in the realm of lyric poetry, critics have given the choices and arrangements of poems only a fairly light importance. Arthur Marotti, for example, suggests that Folger MS V.a.89 has importance for its reflection of ‘an aristocratic and courtly woman’s interests in fashionable mid-Elizabethan amorous verse’ and the currency of the lyric in the sixteenth century. The poems that Anne Cornwallis copied can sometimes be explained through details of her biography and genealogy, and sometimes owing to her social position. Folger MS V.a.345, by contrast, was anonymously compiled; and owing to its inclusion of many University poems, is said to reflect a ‘university’ rather than ‘aristocratic’ background.<sup>72</sup>

In studies of political verse, the motives behind copying and compilation grow more important and significant, and the claims made for manuscripts including libels grow all the more emphatic. For Andrew McRae, libels in verse miscellanies evince a curiously liberally minded and balanced compiler, who ‘appears to have been concerned to represent a range of the political poetry of the period, rather than to promote a coherent ideological position.’<sup>73</sup> As such, miscellanies seem the perfect form for readers ‘to experiment with discourses of dissent and division’.<sup>74</sup> Even while admitting the heterogeneity of content in the miscellany, then, McRae finds a way of giving it a very basic ordering principle based on the intelligence of the reading compiler – or compiling reader, for that matter. The importance of a compiler’s ‘desire’ and ‘interest’ are stepped up in David Colclough’s work on political miscellanies.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Arthur F. Marotti, ‘The Cultural and Textual Importance of Folger MS V.a.89,’ *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 11 (2002), 71; Arthur F. Marotti, ‘Folger MSS V.a.89 and V.a.345: Reading Lyric Poetry in Manuscript,’ *The Reader Revealed*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001), 48-51. Marotti goes on to claim that V.a.345 ‘reflects tastes and collecting habits of an Oxford-educated, politically aware man of the late Jacobean and early Caroline period’ (52), though this does not proceed from a particularly obvious line of argument.

<sup>73</sup> McRae, *Literature, Satire*, 42, referring to Bodleian Malone 23.

<sup>74</sup> McRae, *Literature, Satire*, 43.

<sup>75</sup> David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 248. Colclough’s take on collections will be critiqued at greater length in Chapter 4, below.

While noting patterns and trends, he suggests that compiling political material is never a passive or neutral act; indeed, ‘the very practices of transcription or annotation are acts that place [the compiler] in a critical and active relationship to the civic world.’<sup>76</sup> An important difficulty with this position is its conceptualisation of copying and collection as fundamentally *active* intellectual processes. These actions are most important in their material and mechanical capacity; an active consciousness of the poems themselves does not inherently follow. The difficulty with Colclough lies less in the plausability of his conclusions, as in the their demonstration, which cannot be enhanced or disputed by any more detailed analysis.

A more extreme series of claims for ‘guiding intelligence’ in manuscript studies have appeared in Joshua Eckhardt’s book, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry*. Some of Eckhardt’s assertions are rather similar to those made by McRae. To take some examples, the inclusion of pro-Protestant texts in Bodleian Rawl. Poet. 160, with a simultaneous exclusion of very common puritan satires, renders it ‘an unusually radical collector of libels and especially of anti-courtly love poems’.<sup>77</sup> The same manuscript managed ‘to define a consistent position on early Stuart politics’, while others (exemplified by Rosenbach 239/27) used libels to survey ‘a variety of ... positions, effectively moderating discussion on recent developments in English history’.<sup>78</sup> The difficulty with these claims lies not so much in the presence of the specified range of poems in the collections themselves, but in the use to which they are supposed to have been put: it is impossible to know under what conditions or limitations the politically charged poems were copied.

Such basic claims for the political stance of a collection are partly the grounds for the slightly more extravagant assertions about the importance of compilers. For Eckhardt, it was verse collectors who actually *instituted* ‘anti-courtly love poetry’ as a genre.<sup>79</sup> The anti-courtly aspect of love poetry is achieved especially through the juxtaposition of ostensibly impersonal

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<sup>76</sup> Colclough, *Freedom of Speech*, 199.

<sup>77</sup> Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 143.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 10.



poems with those that target the personnel involved in specific court scandals. Eckhardt often discovers an ‘uncanny resonance’ between libels and non-political poetic genres,<sup>80</sup> and few could disagree with this; it is one of the major strengths of Eckhardt’s book that these different forms of writing are, for the first time, brought into some sustained dialogue. However, the extended explanation of this evidence quickly loses its foundations. To say indubitably that a compiler ‘related’ Somerset libels and Donne’s love poems, for example, or to then describe those relationships as ‘interpretations’, is to make an assertion that is not based on empirical grounds.<sup>81</sup> Even while disavowing a narrowly intentionalist stance, a careless emphasis on the ‘recontextualization’, ‘repoliticization’, or ‘assimilation’, of the texts means that the compiler’s engaged decision-making seems never to be far away.<sup>82</sup>

The fact that manuscript verse collections came into existence at all is the result of intentions to produce them. The preference in certain manuscripts for particular genres of poetry indicates that such intent stretched as far as to think carefully about the content that was being copied.<sup>83</sup> But moving beyond these very, very basic observations seems more difficult than is often allowed. On a similar problem in Medieval miscellanies, Derek Pearsall remarks that ‘[t]he necessities of production, the pressures of circumstance, the paucity of exemplars, as well as other factors, combined to make the work of compilation more random and inconsistent than many modern interpreters allow.’<sup>84</sup> The same problem affects early modern manuscripts, and indeed demonstrates a more widely recognised problem in the history of reading – in Roger Chartier’s terms, the balance to be understood between the ‘entire set of constraints and obligations’ imposed on a reader, and the frequently ‘rebellious and vagabond’ nature of reading itself.<sup>85</sup> A host of social and cultural influences would have had an impact on both the availability of texts to a compiler as well as those that would limit

<sup>80</sup> Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 89.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Bodl. MS Malone 23, for example, copies only libels.

<sup>84</sup> Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book,’ 29.

<sup>85</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), viii.

what they could have imagined copying. Neither set of influences is especially easy to detect, least of all at the level of individual manuscripts, or texts within manuscripts. A pertinently similar problem is in inventories and library catalogues of the eighteenth century, of which David A. Hall remarks that it is ‘almost impossible to demonstrate whether or how the books listed in them were read’, or even whether they were chosen by intention at all. Many of the books in an eighteenth century social library ‘would have been booksellers’ remainders that no customer would ever borrow or purchase’.<sup>86</sup> While we might often be able to assume a little more agency than none at all in the acquisition of manuscript texts, it should be clear that guessing at organizational methods is an extremely risky business indeed.

Whatever the value in approaching manuscript collections as the product of one isolated reader-copyist, the major flaw in doing so is detaching a manuscript from the social connections that necessarily created it. Many other studies have sought to place such collections back into the kind of organization that Harold Love described as a ‘social grouping’, whether a ‘coterie’, ‘network’, ‘community’, or similar.

The development of the ‘social grouping’ as an organizational principle for research into manuscripts has emerged partly from research into arenas in which an idea of a ‘coterie’ is especially useful. Even though this term was only transmitted into English usage during the eighteenth century,<sup>87</sup> there are strong examples of circles in which authorship, readership, and transmission are all closely integrated: for example, the people connected to the Aston Family in Tixall, Staffordshire<sup>88</sup> and those around Katherine Philips.<sup>89</sup> The impetus for recognising them as such has been crucial in studies of women’s writing, in which they have posed fundamentally different demands on how to understand early modern writing than those

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<sup>86</sup> David A. Hall, ‘What was the History of the Book? A Response,’ *Modern Intellectual History* 4.3 (2007), 540.

<sup>87</sup> In the sense of ‘A circle of persons associated together and distinguished from ‘outsiders’, a ‘set’, the *OED* records a first usage in 1738 (sense 2a).

<sup>88</sup> Julie Sanders, ‘Tixall Revisited: The Coterie Writings of the Astons and the Thimelbys in Seventeenth-Century Staffordshire,’ *Staffordshire Studies* 12 (2000), 75-93.

<sup>89</sup> There is a very great deal of scholarship on Philips: a relevant example is Catherine Gray, ‘Katherine Philips and the Post-Courtly Coterie,’ *English Literary Renaissance* 32.3 (2002), 426-51.

inherited from studies of male authors.<sup>90</sup> Yet even the hint of knowledge that poems were written in a social environment has been enough to stimulate discussion of the ‘coterie’ inflections in the already established corpus of a poet’s writing. Most famously, John Donne has been examined as a ‘coterie poet’.<sup>91</sup>

The relationship of social groupings and individual manuscripts is generally stressed mostly in terms of networks of transmission detached from authors. The verse miscellany acts as a kind of node in which are materialised various passages of transmission from one copyist to another. As with more general poetic coteries, this coincidence is not a merely imaginary one: Henry Gurney, Sir Stephen Powle, and John Watson,<sup>92</sup> for example, all recorded the origins of the texts that came to them, as well as the people to which they were sent. These are, however, very unusual forms of evidence, and more has been made out of the discovery of manuscripts containing an extensive degree of overlapping content, especially those with apparent institutional connections. The work of Mary Hobbs was pioneering in this respect, with her book being the first to note very significant overlaps in the content of several miscellanies with a preponderance of ‘university’-related content.<sup>93</sup> Many of the texts originated in Christ Church College, Oxford, in the 1630s; whether or not the surviving manuscripts are coincident with that place or time is less easy to ascertain. Another means of connecting manuscripts with social settings has been more physical, with the book itself – and not simply the evidence for transmission it provides – proving to be a central part of a social

<sup>90</sup> Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Writing Women’s Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 54.

<sup>91</sup> Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), whose conclusions are mostly warmly received – see for example Ted-Larry Pebworth, ‘John Donne, Coterie Poetry, and the Text as Performance,’ *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 29.1 (1989 Winter), 61-75. There are however some profound problems with this model, for which it is worth reading Jonathan Goldberg, ‘[Review of Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*]’ *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 86.3 (Jul 1987), 410-12.

<sup>92</sup> On these, see Steven W. May, ‘Henry Gurney, A Norfolk Farmer, Reads Spenser and Others,’ *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 20 (2005), 197-202 and his Appendix II; Jason Scott-Warren, ‘Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: the Textual Transactions of Sir Stephen Powle,’ *Communities in Early Modern England*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 18-37. Love, *Scribal Publication*, 80-81, notes the scarcity of this kind of evidence while discussing John Watson’s manuscript.

<sup>93</sup> Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 87-90. Important examples of ‘university’ manuscripts include Westminster Abbey MS 41; BL MSS Sloane 1792 and Add. 30982.

life. Regarding the ‘Dalhousie’ manuscripts, which include many Donne texts, Ernest Sullivan has urged the importance of their ownership and production by a group.<sup>94</sup> In a more politically charged arena, Katrin Ettenhuber has identified in another manuscript ‘a long-term point of ideological identification for the anti-Calvinist community’.<sup>95</sup>

In most of these studies, the exact way in which a miscellany interacts with its constitutive social connections is not always immediately clear. This is not owing to lack of effort on the part of scholars but, rather, a severe lack of the kind of evidence that could take us beyond what we already know. Jerome de Groot’s disappointed conclusion that ‘for all the physical evidence, we still have little understanding of how or ... why coterie manuscripts were compiled and used’ is unlikely to find a rejoinder soon without the discovery of much more in the way of useful evidence.<sup>96</sup> MC15 demonstrates the difficulties that we face in trying to re-insert a manuscript into patterns of its social history (difficulties which we will discuss further in Chapter 2). It is often described as an ‘Inns of Court’ manuscript – but in what way? Did the compiler know the authors? Was the content of MC15 circulated most widely at the Inns, but not elsewhere? It is difficult to imagine the circulation at the Inns beyond the vaguest generalisation: Wilfred Prest writes that ‘[s]imply by concentrating large numbers of students in an exceptionally lively metropolitan environment ... the inns could have hardly failed to play an important part in the English Renaissance’, and by the same token, they could hardly have failed to stimulate significant activities of manuscript circulation.<sup>97</sup> While the remains of drama and other forms of literary/cultural activity at the Inns and the universities

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<sup>94</sup> A position perhaps most actively advanced in Ernest W. Sullivan, II, ‘The Renaissance Manuscript Verse Miscellany: Private Party, Private Text,’ *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society 1993), 289-298; and Ernest W. Sullivan, II, ed., *The First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts: Poems and Prose by John Donne and Others: A Facsimile Edition* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 4-7.

<sup>95</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber, “‘The best help God’s people have’: Manuscript Culture and the Construction of Anti-Calvinist Communities in Seventeenth-Century England,” *The Seventeenth Century* 22.2 (Autumn 2007), 276. The article mainly concerns Cambridge University Library, MS B.14.22.

<sup>96</sup> Jerome de Groot, ‘John Denham and Lucy Hutchinson’s Commonplace Book,’ *Studies in English Literature* 48.1 (Winter 2008), 148.

<sup>97</sup> Wilfred Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar, 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 193.

are susceptible to detailed study and analysis,<sup>98</sup> the production and dissemination of manuscript texts have simply not left the kinds of traces that enable scholars to perform a more penetrating study of the field.<sup>99</sup>

### *Proposed Methods*

Manuscript verse collections, by the very fact of their dependence on the amateur readers and amateur copyists of early modern poetry, invite us to consider them as a form of evidence for the reception of early modern texts. However, the preceding discussions have suggested, in spite of the varied evidence they provide, it is difficult to develop arguments or conclusions that do more than confirm the necessary conditions of their production: some form of intelligence to will the book into existence; and a social formation of some description from which the copied texts were drawn. A method that can produce a satisfactory account of a manuscript collection needs to be able to acknowledge the cultural necessities of manuscript production, while seeking to prioritise an interpretation of the full range of evidence that the surviving material text now offers, in context with what other supporting external evidence can be presented. This thesis will show how such demands are best satisfied by a version of what has become known in histories of reading as an ‘object study’, or ‘census study’. While this is now well established as a method for historians of the reading of printed books, the method also has important precedents in manuscript studies, which have the capacity to be developed into a more fully-fledged method of enquiry into manuscript texts.

Most ‘census’ or ‘object study’ research has involved the study of the ways in which ‘a text that is stable in its letter and fixed in its form is apprehended by new readers who read it

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<sup>98</sup> Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), W. R. Elton, *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Inns of Court Revels* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>99</sup> In an otherwise detailed, and meticulous research, Woudhuysen can still remark that ‘if only one could spend an hour or two in St Paul’s Churchyard or near the Inns of Court in about 1600 most of the vexing questions about the commercial copying of manuscripts could probably be answered.’ Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 174.

in other ways than did previous readers<sup>100</sup> – albeit sometimes allowing for a certain degree of flexibility. The demand for a basic (if not total) stability has meant that studies in this style have been focused on printed books. The results of consulting many copies of the same editions can, all the same, be predicated on the differences between them, as in Lotte Hellinga's study of the forms in which the printed books of Peter Schoeffer (c. 1425-1503) were bound and presented (ultimately more a history of reception than of reading *per se*).<sup>101</sup> One of the most astonishingly extensive efforts for object study is that of Owen Gingerich, in his *Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus*, the work of several decades.<sup>102</sup> Examples in the literary sphere that are, only by comparison with Gingerich, more modest, include Heidi Brayman Hackel's work on Sidney's *Arcadia*,<sup>103</sup> and Alison Wiggins' on early modern editions of Chaucer.<sup>104</sup> These 'census' studies all have in common their attention to books whose importance to early modern studies have been acknowledged and examined for other reasons. David Pearson has shown how the same method can draw results about the history of reading from a less canonical work, in his case multiple copies of Julius Caesar's commentaries on the Gallic and civil wars.<sup>105</sup> The evidence that each is able to acquire from the margins of these

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<sup>100</sup> Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 16.

<sup>101</sup> Lotte Hellinga, 'Peter Schoeffer and the Book Trade in Mainz: Evidence for the Organisation,' *Bookbindings and other bibliophily: essays in honour of Anthony Hobson*, eds. Anthony Hobson and Dennis E. Rhodes (1994), 131-83. The study of the unique properties of multiple copies here serves a different end to the history of reading in itself, but is rather successful in uncovering details of the workings of the processes of the production of incunables.

<sup>102</sup> Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and Owen Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (London: Arrow Books, 2004). Gingerich's *Census* is able to discover a particularly rich fund of annotations on *De Revolutionibus*: there are even traditions of copying annotations from one copy to another (*Census* xix-xxiii). A number of the copies of *De Revolutionibus* can be traced to important astronomers working relatively closely after Copernicus; for a resume of others, see *Census* xxiv-xxvi.

<sup>103</sup> In Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 137-175.

<sup>104</sup> Alison Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', *The Library* 9.1 (2008), 3-36. Wiggins makes some particularly perceptive marks on method and the limitations of working with marginalia.

<sup>105</sup> David Pearson, 'What Can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books?', *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*, eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (Newcastle, DE and London: Oak Knoll and the British Library, 2007), 17-38. This stands in contrast to those studies that use marginalia to elucidate the patterns of singularly important readers such as those of Gabriel Harvey and John Dee: see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy,' *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30-78 and William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

books suffers from ‘anonymity, obscurity, obliqueness, intractability, and repetitiveness’,<sup>106</sup> which often result more in demonstrating the cultural importance of books in general, instead of offering a precise range of intelligent reflections on a printed work. As such, these kinds of studies might be better thought of as illustration of ‘book use’ than of episodes in the history of reading.<sup>107</sup>

While the principle of conducting research into texts passing from hand to hand in manuscript circulation is very similar to the principles necessitated by the study of print, the evidence and source material is, naturally, very different. There can be little expectation of a ‘stable’ text of the sort that one might expect with print.<sup>108</sup> There are virtually none of the marginal annotations, cryptic or otherwise, that can at least be expected across a sufficiently large sample of printed books. Yet the lack of annotations is compensated for by the abundance of variations in texts – and these in addition to the many other contextual alterations that a text will undergo through manuscript transmission. The earliest studies of this sort, produced by J. B. Leishman and C. F. Main through attempts to edit the poetry of Sir Henry Wotton, dwelt primarily on indissolubly different textual variants.<sup>109</sup> Each editor’s pursuit of a finished text was thwarted by the complexity of these variants, which meant that ‘no mechanical or supposedly scientific method will enable an editor to decide which readings are corrupt and which are authentic and, of these, which are original and which are revisions.’<sup>110</sup> Ted-Larry Pebworth, in a study of Wotton’s ‘Dazel’d Thus, with Height of Place’, describes the variations in that poem (more various, he says, than those of the poems studied

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<sup>106</sup> Wiggins, ‘Printed Copies of Chaucer,’ 3-4.

<sup>107</sup> On the idea of book use, see Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory, 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005) and Sherman, *Used Books*.

<sup>108</sup> Print is now routinely shown to be less stable than it was once thought (see especially Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* [Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998]), but the centralised production of printed books gives each more in common with one another than any two manuscript copies.

<sup>109</sup> J. B. Leishman, “‘You Meaner Beauties of the Night’: A Study in Transmission and Transmogrification,” *The Library* 26.2-3 (1945), 99-121; C. F. Main, ‘Wotton’s “The Character of a Happy Life”,’ *The Library* 10 (1955), 270-274. For another example of this from a somewhat editorial perspective, see Hammond, ‘Marvell’s Coy Mistresses,’ 22-33.

<sup>110</sup> Leishman, “‘You Meaner Beauties of the Night’: A Study in Transmission and Transmogrification,” 101.

by Leishman or Main) as ‘appropriations’; with ‘little in the way of internal evidence to identify its subject’, the poem could be easily adapted to fit other occasions.<sup>111</sup> Recording and commenting on the variants of manuscript texts has become an interesting part of reader-focussed manuscript studies.<sup>112</sup> Yet a broader study such as that offered by Michelle O’Callaghan on the ‘Parliament Fart’ – a poem whose witnesses are probably more variant than any other – shows that the evidence that manuscript copies offer is far broader than textual differences alone.<sup>113</sup> The owners of manuscripts and the content they put together tell us much about the position that a poem occupied in early modern culture. The very mode of transcription of poems, and their appearance on the page or some other bibliographic unit, can be enough to tell us a great deal about their history.<sup>114</sup>

The benefits of using object study as an approach to manuscript collections are several, and depend partly on having the leisure of a thesis-length study in which to pursue them. Taking a census of the objects gives us access to elements of copyists’ and readers’ experiences of texts, without necessarily relying on any assumed truth. Our judgements on the reception of the text are accessed via the text itself – something which we can take hold of and work with. We need not imagine that the collector was a *type* of person, nor that he or she occupied a particular social position, in order to come to any useful conclusions; we are permitted something more diverse than that – at least, potentially. The emphasis that object

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<sup>111</sup> Ted-Larry Pebworth, ‘Sir Henry Wotton’s “Dazl’d Thus, with Height of Place” and the Appropriation of Political Poetry in the Earlier Seventeenth Century,’ *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* 71 (1977), 156. For another relevant study more closely grounded in editorial method, see Steven W. May, “‘The French Primero’: A Study in Renaissance Textual Transmission and Taste,’ *English Language Notes* 9.2 (Dec 1971), 102-108. In addition to these studies, unpublished work on Walter Raleigh’s poems by Peter Stallybrass (on Raleigh’s epitaph on himself) and Jonathon Gibson (on ‘The Lie’), give more weight to engagements with the method.

<sup>112</sup> See, for example, Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare’s Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan 2002), 172-188; Marcy L North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 232-235; James Knowles, “‘Songs of Baser Alloy’: Jonson’s *Gypsies Metamorphosed* and the Circulation of Manuscript Libels,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69.1 (2006), 161.

<sup>113</sup> Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Performing Politics: The Circulation of the “Parliament Fart”,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69.1 (2006), 121-138.

<sup>114</sup> Randall McLeod plans to produce a facsimile edition of Donne’s elegy ‘On his Mistress Going to Bed’, which will surely be an unparalleled demonstration of the variety in which even the most immediate material features of a poem can appear. For a suggestive comparable exercise from print, see the ‘gallery’ section in Random Cloud, ‘FIAT FLUX,’ *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance*, ed. Randall McLeod (New York: AMS, 1994), 86-125 [sic].



studies enable us to place on bibliographical evidence is especially useful as a bridge between text and receiver. For the vast majority of texts in manuscripts a complete portrait of their transmission is almost impossible to come to, given the potentially extensive loss-rate that has occurred over the centuries. A study based on the varieties of a text and its physical form help us to make up for such lapses in evidence, prioritising critical comparisons over empirical completeness.

By producing a series of object studies in a thesis or book-length piece of research, we are able to build up a picture of the ‘whole’ manuscript of MC15 far more effectively than we might have had from a less intensive method. We will produce a study that is admittedly partial, fragmentary, and incomplete; but each of these fragments contribute more to the way we understand MC15 than a less intensive approach that tries to cover every part of the manuscript in lesser detail.

The development of studies of manuscript collections is clearly not only a matter of producing more expansive and comprehensive finding aids and reference resources (indispensable as these are). To expand the way in which we think about collections it is fundamental to use explorative and open methods, defining new questions instead of failing to give old answers. Doing so attempts to evoke, in some degree, what Pearsall advises: ‘a degree of adventurousness’ in manuscript studies.<sup>115</sup>

This stance is by no means universally held. Woudhuysen wrote some time ago, in a statement more recently endorsed by the late Harold Love, that manuscript studies

still needs its *STC* to catalogue the books themselves, its McKerrow and its Gaskell to explain how they were physically produced, and its Greg and its Bowers to establish how they should be described, and what can be deduced

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<sup>115</sup> Derek Pearsall, ‘The Value/s of Manuscript Study: A Personal Retrospect,’ *Journal of the Early Book Society* 3 (2000), 175-6, quoted in Sebastiaan Johan Verweij, “‘The inlegebill scribbling of my imprompt pen’: the Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c. 1580-c.1630,” Unpublished PhD Thesis, Glasgow University, 2008, 74.

from their make-up, and how their role in the editing of texts might be freshly considered in theory and in practice.<sup>116</sup>

A short title catalogue and better descriptions would do little to enhance the way that we understand manuscript collections. It is telling that Woudhuysen makes comparisons with print bibliography, in which exactness and precision have been cornerstones of enquiry. From the earliest times of modern bibliography of printed books, it would be said that '[w]e do not want the *opinion* or *dictum* of any bibliographer however experienced'.<sup>117</sup> The case is significantly different in studies of manuscripts. Opinion is centrally important in the description of any kind of activity in manuscripts, a great deal owing to the total inconsistency of the practice with which they were produced by amateurs. In palaeographic studies, describing even the 'formation of a written letter' – the most basic unit of study – was described by McKerrow as 'impossible'.<sup>118</sup> As such, in contrast to Bradshaw, Tom Davies has emphasised the importance of *experience* in the task of handwriting analysis.<sup>119</sup> Any pursuit of a critical manuscript bibliography has to be prepared to admit the importance of scholarly interpretation, and ought to seek projects and conclusions in which interpretation is pursued carefully in relation to manuscript sources. The difficulty of technical analysis in manuscript studies does not render redundant the strong evidence it can still afford, and it ought to remain central in order to prohibit the excessive application of arguments that the evidence cannot readily support. This thesis proceeds with these principles in mind: prepared to interpret where necessary, but committed to description and analysis as core tools. Whatever the success of the arguments in individual chapters, they all take notice of phenomena that

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<sup>116</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 6, warmly endorsed by Harold Love, 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England,' *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. IV: 1557-1695*, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 121.

<sup>117</sup> Henry Bradshaw, quoted in G. Thomas Tanselle, 'A Description of Descriptive Bibliography,' *Studies in Bibliography* 45 (1992), 30 n30.

<sup>118</sup> Marvin Taylor, 'The Anatomy of Bibliography: Book Collecting, Bibliography and Male Homosocial Discourse,' *Textual Practice* 14.3 (2000), 470; Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 345.

<sup>119</sup> Tom Davis, 'The Practice of Handwriting Identification,' *The Library* 8.3 (2007), 253-4.

have not received the attention they deserve, with analyses that are ready to be rebutted and replaced.

Chapter 2: Processes of collecting and copying in MC15 and related manuscripts

One of the weaknesses in the scholarship on manuscript collections has been a disinclination to consider the form they take now as the result of a traceable set of processes. Even if manuscripts have been well understood as the combined product of readers' activities and social organizations, to a surprising extent there remains what Ernest Sullivan once described as a 'residual assumption that a manuscript is an artifact copied by one person from one source in sequence over a relatively short and continuous period.'<sup>1</sup> This chapter will show how we can engage with the evidence verse collections present for processes of copying and collecting, and it ventures to understand what they signify. For the most part, manuscript collections are fundamentally open and incomplete, in ways that printed books never are. This is especially true of collections of separates, whose aggregation is not limited by any intrinsic property of the texts; but it is also true of a book like MC15, in which a number of blank leaves are left. People may have left the collection as it was, at that point, but there was no reason it could not have continued. The 'final' state of these collections ought not, technically speaking, take primacy over any of the previous states in which the manuscript existed: as such, an important task that we can undertake is to try to understand the significance of precise points in those collections, detached from a perceived telos in a finished book.

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<sup>1</sup> Sullivan, 'The Renaissance Manuscript Verse Miscellany: Private Party, Private Text,' 289.

One of the ways this chapter will work is by producing valid (but contestable) narratives for the processes by which manuscript collections came into being. We will start with the examination of groups of manuscript ‘separates’, belonging to the Gell and Bagot families, in which copying and collection are especially palpable as processes. In spite of our best efforts, however, the way that the separate collections discussed here came together are extremely difficult to describe with any kind of reliability. The chapter will then move on to consider several manuscript collections of verse in book-format, which offer us a more secure evidential footing in many ways. The kinds of interactions and exchanges that books record are of a different nature to separates: a blank book is an archive or point of storage in itself, and the ways in which it can be transferred and re-used by a series of different owners is of vital importance. Finally, a fuller examination of MC15 will build on our remarks on manuscript books and separates, while also returning to some of the concerns of the preceding chapter. Even with a comprehensive account of provenance, paper, physical structure, handwriting and content, it is more or less impossible to ascribe to the manuscript an original owner – that is, to place it securely in the categories of research through which manuscript collections have received a majority of their critical attention (as we saw in Chapter 1). Building on this chapter’s other examples, however, we can see how the handwriting in MC15 is a rich resource for studies in its own right. Analysis of MC15’s handwriting enables us to propose several methods by which the manuscript was compiled. Although doing so points to forms of social interaction through which these manuscripts were produced, we are left without any direct sense of the kinds of social, cultural, or institutional context in which the manuscript was produced. This need not be a failing, however, since as a method it remains a secure and empirically valuable method of producing observations conveniently comparable to other manuscript texts.

The proposed methodology with which we closed the previous chapter did have something of a blind spot: namely, that in comparing single texts that are found in different collections, some way of explaining the place that those texts occupied within those collections is still required. The work of this chapter helps to remedy that weakness. By showing some of the broad ways in which manuscript collections are the products of detectable processes, we are ready to greet the copies of smaller texts as elements that took place within those more extensive processes. As we work through the details of collections made on separates and books, culminating in the study of MC15, we will begin to see the particular kinds of evidence that the bound form can offer to us. These different kinds of evidence may not be intrinsically more or less complex than one another, but the superior stability of books means that they are capable of encoding in one point a more varied set of relationships and interactions. The sense of the constructed nature of early modern collections that these studies give us will prepare the way for the remaining chapters to consider the methods and processes through which copies were made, even if they are unable to deal with complete manuscripts in the same kind of detail with which the examples here are treated.

### *Separates*

Studies of collections of texts, and especially verse, have generally dealt almost exclusively with those made in books at the expense of the many collections undertaken on ‘separates’. Given that collections of separates are diffuse, obscure, and often mixed up with all kinds of non-literary manuscript materials, this is perhaps understandable – even if they are not necessarily any more or less opaque than their codex counterparts. However, there are good reasons why this form should command a greater hold on our attention. The word ‘separate’ – which, we should note, is a contemporary term – describes ‘a manuscript or printed text produced or

issued as a physically independent unit, rather than being part of a larger entity or book'.<sup>2</sup> In a separate, the written text and the physical form of its transmission are inseparable, and usually identical. As a result, not only are the circumstances of their copying, dissemination and collection more immediately palpable than in so many other forms, they are also capable of satisfying a range of functions that would not be available to other forms of transmission. We will begin by going over some of these forms of transmission, before examining two collections of manuscript separates in greater detail.

Separates were a significant form for commercial scribal publication, an area that has been effectively described by Harold Love.<sup>3</sup> Produced in massive quantities, separates recording recent political speeches and interventions met a ready audience of urban readers. It was not only weighty prose texts that would have circulated in this commercial sphere: a professionally produced separate of the libel 'The Five Senses' shows how verse, too, could be appropriate material for a professional scribe to copy.<sup>4</sup> In all cases of professional copying, the separate is a form whose relationship with its readers is quite clearly defined within that commercial transaction. The scribe's work is either to supply product in order to satisfy demand for it, or to work towards creating that demand.

As indicated above, the independence from larger physical structures that defines separates made them susceptible to far wider uses than simple commercial transactions. A poem could be composed and copied on to a single sheet, then easily disseminated without any immediate involvement from a targeted reader; such a use is recorded in the title of a poem in MC15 said to have been 'put into my Lad: / Laitons Pocket by Sir / Walter Rawleigh'.<sup>5</sup> More widely, libels in separate form could be pinned up or cast into prominent

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<sup>2</sup> Beal, *English Manuscript Terminology*, 375.

<sup>3</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, 13-22.

<sup>4</sup> Folger MS X.d.235. See also Love, *Scribal Publication*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> MC15, 55r.

public places in the hope of attracting a wide and uncommitted readership.<sup>6</sup> The many cases of this reported in Star Chamber indicate that it was a successful tactic; and while it is not recorded whether Raleigh's supplication was successful or not, another anecdote survives in which Queen Elizabeth tied to her shoe some verses sent her by Robert Cecil.<sup>7</sup> Although these examples illustrate the uses of separates by authors for their own poems, a similar gesture of optimistic flattery could equally well be employed by the copyist of another's poem.

The collection of separates in one place raised significant material issues for anyone who wanted to do so – unlike the more stable book forms. A response was issued from a number of early modern modern secretaries and librarians, whose job it was to organize potentially vast collections of official papers: Thomas Wilson, Arthur Agarde and Gabriel Naudé all wrote about the concerns that could beset the preservation of loose sheets.<sup>8</sup> While Naudé advised that they might be collected into 'bundles and parcels', those bundles of important separates could then have been given the more resilient treatment of binding into composite volumes.<sup>9</sup> Such books, as described by Patricia Brewerton, could simply be 'collections of documents, copied and bound into books to form libraries of written information.'<sup>10</sup> To ramp up the scale of production all the more, a collection of loose papers could then be copied out by a single scribe into a pre-bound 'blank book', in a greater or lesser state of organization.<sup>11</sup> Professional scribes may even have copied books of letters on a large scale, perhaps for commercial circulation – the so-called 'feathery' scribe, for example, was

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<sup>6</sup> For example see the events described Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 304.

<sup>7</sup> Joshua Eckhardt, 'The Transmission of Songs written for Queen Elizabeth I,' *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing*, eds. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: The British Library, 2007), 118.

<sup>8</sup> Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library*, trans. John Evelyn (London: G. Bedle, T. Collins, and J. Crook, 1661); Agarde, 'Compendium Recordorum Regiorum', in BL Add. 25256; Thomas Wilson's tract is found in BL MS Harl. 1579 56<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>; discussed in Patricia Ann Brewerton, 'Paper Trails: re-reading Robert Beale as Clerk to the Elizabethan Privy Council,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1998, 272-278.

<sup>9</sup> Such was the response of the secretary Robert Beale. See Brewerton, 'Paper Trails,' 288-294.

<sup>10</sup> Brewerton, 'Paper Trails,' 294.

<sup>11</sup> See BL MS Add. 34218, for example (discussed in Chapter 5, below), or A. R Braunmuller, ed., *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS V.a.321* (Newark & London: University of Delaware Press, 1983), which was copied out by two (likely professional) hands.



responsible for one particularly large letter book.<sup>12</sup> Although most concern over preserving separates was (understandably) for official texts and prose, the same technology would govern collections that contained literary contents too: many volumes are extant that are likely to be scribal copies of loose sheets.<sup>13</sup> These several points on the ascending scale of measures that could be taken to secure (initially) fragmentary and rough sets of separates make clear statements on the relative regard in which those collections were held. The more worthy of preservation they are, the more likely users are to attempt to stabilise the ephemeral and easily destroyed form.

Over the course of the thesis, we will encounter collections of separates for which various kinds of stabilization have been attempted. However, the carefully tied parcels, neatly bound bundles, or legibly copied volumes are prone to tell us least of all about the processes through which they produced. Through their divisions made long after the initial reception, or transcriptions that erase evidence for multiple contributors, vital evidence is lost. Those collections that have remained less thoroughly organized over the course of the centuries present us with a far more raw and engaging picture of the nature of the collection of separates at this time. Two collections that still retain this element of heterogeneity in all respects are those of the Gell and Bagot families, for which almost no preservative measures appear to have taken in the early days of their existence. The early modern texts that survive from the Gell archive family – the larger archive and our main point of departure, here – have some trends in content and hands amongst them, but remain heterogeneous and impossible to describe in terms of simple motives. Those in the Bagot archive have fewer obvious correspondences between them, and illustrate how confusingly heterogeneous a collection of separates could be. In both cases we are faced – as we often are with manuscripts – with a

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<sup>12</sup> Folger MS G.b.9, identified in Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, 262.

<sup>13</sup> For example, BL MS Add. 34218 and Oxford, All Soul's College MS 155. This kind of activity seems the most likely explanation when a very miscellaneous collection of short texts is copied by a consistent and neat hand in a pre-bound book.

number of possible explanations for their background, and no way of confidently subscribing to one.

The character of separates is such that, in some cases, it is more or less impossible to develop any real sense of how they were put together, or for what reason, or by whom. This we see amongst separate copies in the archives of the Bagot family, now held at Staffordshire Record Office. The Bagots were a well-known Staffordshire family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with successive family heads – including Richard Bagot (c. 1530-1597), Walter Bagot (1557-1623) and Hervey Bagot (1591-1660) – taking on political roles including that of the sheriff of Staffordshire.<sup>14</sup> Although traditionally Protestant, they would end up siding with the royalist cause during the civil wars. A large portion of their papers left the region in the 1950s and 60s when they were bought by the Folger Shakespeare Library, where they still reside.<sup>15</sup> However, the collections at the Folger contain very few copied separates, with many more appearing to have been retained at Stafford.<sup>16</sup>

Literary copies are scattered throughout the Bagot papers, but many texts were gathered together at a comparatively early stage: one copy in one folder of separates is described as having been found among ‘Several Old Coppies of Verses’ which an unidentified individual ‘found in the Butter Closet’.<sup>17</sup> The file contains in the region of fifty-five separate texts, which range from the early 1600s to the 1720s. The early seventeenth century is represented by three libels, each on its own sheet,<sup>18</sup> other contemporary poetry,<sup>19</sup> and the

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<sup>14</sup> M. W. Greenslade, ‘Bagot Family (*per.* c.1490–1705),’ in *ODND*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71871> (accessed June 11, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> See *Guide to the Bagot Family Papers, 1428-1671 (bulk 1557-1671)*, available at <http://findingaids.folger.edu/dfobagot2002.xml>.

<sup>16</sup> The Folger’s guide to the papers describes only the letters at L.a.53, 58, 571, 573, 581, 605, 992 as having poems enclosed.

<sup>17</sup> The folder is Staffs RO D1721/3/246. The items within are not catalogued, and I refer in square bracket to document numbers as they were sorted at the time of my research there. For the inscription, see item [xv].

<sup>18</sup> Items [ix], [xxxiii], [xxxv]; which correspond to *ESL* Pi34, Pii5 and Oiii4.

advice given by Lord Burghley to his son Robert Cecil, often found in other manuscripts.<sup>20</sup> Other papers apart from the ‘butter closet’ include a poem about drinking,<sup>21</sup> and texts by Walter Raleigh on his execution and other matters.<sup>22</sup>

What makes these separates challenging to evaluate is not their abstraction from any obvious contextual information, so much as the total lack of coherence in handwriting. No two texts are written in the same hand, nor even on the same paper. Given that I have not been able to locate any of the hands amongst signed letters from the Bagot family, it seems likely that these poems all came from outside of the family group. The fact that members of the Bagot family were treated as the target of scribal gifts is borne out in a book of fable translations from the 1590s sent to attract the patronage of Richard Bagot;<sup>23</sup> and from later years, in a number of separates of poems composed specifically for members of the Bagot family.<sup>24</sup> What we have to deal with is that the poems found in this file were regarded as worthy of retention by their eventual owners, and not of copying: their accumulation could conceivably have taken place passively. The dissaray of separates seems to be one of their most important qualities, and their potential for intederminancy must always be kept in mind. However, in some larger collections, such as that amongst the Gell papers, certain degrees of coherence and patterning are detectable; even if the heterogeneity of the collection of a whole means that it is still difficult determine a controlling force in their assemblage.

By the sixteenth century, members of the Gell family had lived at Hopton Hall, Derbyshire, ‘for many generations’, but it was only then that their fortunes upturned

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<sup>19</sup> As can be discerned by the hands of Items [xii], ‘Apollo for some private end’; [xxx], ‘I serve vnder Dr Hall’; [xx] ‘If any bee distrest and fayne wold gather; [xxii] ‘An Eligie on the death of ... the Countesse of Leicester // Looke in this vault, and search yt well’.

<sup>20</sup> Item [xxiv]; compare Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 277-286.

<sup>21</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D1721/3/249.

<sup>22</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, In D1721/3/186.

<sup>23</sup> Staffordshire Record Office, D1721/3/248.

<sup>24</sup> For example, D1721/3/246 [I], ‘Of the Death of the most pious / and vertuous Lady, the / Lady Bagot. // Old Age (that sicknes) was not the sad cause’.

considerably, with Anthony Gell (*d.* 1583) being the ‘the first ... to obtain a grant of arms’.<sup>25</sup> The head of the Gell family by the mid-seventeenth century was Sir John Gell (*bap.* 1593-1671), a staunch puritan, and an important player in the Parliamentary cause in 1640s Derbyshire.<sup>26</sup> He went to Magdalen College, Oxford, for a short while before returning home, and fathered four daughters and three sons between 1611 and 1620, by which time he was in residence at the family seat of Hopton Hall. The family made money though ‘sheep farming, lead mining ... and legal office’.<sup>27</sup> Employment in the law was pursued by John’s brother Thomas (1595-1657), who spent much of his adult life in London as a member of the Inner Temple. His role in the accumulation of the family’s collection of papers is important, and will be discussed at greater length below.

The enormously broad Gell papers give evidence for the family’s activities over the course of many hundreds of years, from title deeds of the thirteenth century, to colonial enterprises in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>28</sup> From the early modern period, letters, records, notebooks and copied texts all give evidence for the cultural and social life of the family during that particularly important period in their history. Among these manuscript remains are many copies of poems and prose texts preserved in separate form; further texts are found in personal commonplace books and manuscript miscellanies.<sup>29</sup> Their current state of organization is frustrating for a modern researcher. Even in the nineteenth century the papers at Hopton Hall had been found to be in a state of ‘the utmost confusion’, and presumably they remained in a similar state until they started being moved to the Derbyshire

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<sup>25</sup> J. H. Baker, ‘Gell, Anthony (*d.* 1583),’ in ODNB; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69364> (accessed April 10, 2010); see also Trevor Brighton, ‘The Gell family in the 16th and 17th centuries: a case of the rising gentry,’ *Journal of the Bakewell District Historical Society* 7 (1980), 4-34.

<sup>26</sup> See Ron Slack, *Man at War: John Gell in his Troubled Time* (Chesterfield: n.p., 1997) .

<sup>27</sup> Trevor Brighton, ‘Gell, Sir John, First Baronet (*bap.* 1593, *d.* 1671),’ in ODNB; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10508> (accessed April 10, 2011).

<sup>28</sup> A useful overview of the papers’ provenance and history is given in Keith Condie, ‘Some Further Correspondence between Richard Baxter and Katherine Gell,’ *The Historical Journal* 53 (2010), 166.

<sup>29</sup> These materials are discussed briefly in Slack, *Man at War: John Gell in his Troubled Time*, 17-18.

Record Office in the 1950s.<sup>30</sup> The process of transferral was completed in the 1990s, before the papers were taken in lieu of inheritance tax in 1999. Since 2004, the papers have been catalogued in detail; but even so, without a full index, or calendar of the correspondence, it is difficult to get an immediate sense of how the collecting habits of the family worked in this period.

Amidst all the disarray of the Gell papers, copies of major political and 'literary' texts seem to have been gathered together into particular archival locations, with at least one file drawing several fragmentary transcriptions into one place.<sup>31</sup> However, whether that file was put into place by the earliest compilers or readers, or if it was put there during the intervening centuries, there is no way of knowing. It therefore offers no more than a convenient point of focus for the modern reader; other relevant early modern materials are scattered liberally throughout the collection.<sup>32</sup> As if to further demonstrate that the file locations in the collection are not presented in an identifiable, linear, archival order, closely adjacent files are given to entirely different chronological periods, ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It is mostly safe to assume that the given archival order represents only partially, if at all, an 'original' location for the collection for the texts in question; their significance within the collection needs to be worked out through other means.

We see in the collection a range of copying styles and practices. The 'separate' pieces range widely in style and length, from diminutive and decaying copies of the libel 'ffrom Katherin docke there Launcht a pinke'<sup>33</sup> and Walter Raleigh's 'Epitaph written by himselfe',<sup>34</sup> to professionally copied booklets of verse<sup>35</sup> and prose writings by Raleigh.<sup>36</sup> In many cases the

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<sup>30</sup> Recorded in Derbyshire Record Office catalogue.

<sup>31</sup> D258/7/5/9.

<sup>32</sup> The description in the DRO catalogue for the call number D258 states that 'readers are advised to look widely in the list for relevant material'.

<sup>33</sup> D258/7/5/16.

<sup>34</sup> D258/39/33/1.

<sup>35</sup> D258/10/15.

<sup>36</sup> D258/39/5-6, D258/12/41, D258/55/22.

responsibility for copying these texts is not altogether clear – the hands are not always identifiable within the immediate family circle. Various family did definitely have an interest in the collection of literary texts, as is shown by a couple of verse miscellanies marked quite explicitly with the provenance of the Gell family.<sup>37</sup> One book of notes and poems has its ownership marked by 'Iohn Gell', and it subsequently marks Millicent Gell's birth on the third of October 1611.<sup>38</sup> John Gell's ownership is also marked on a book of practice letters and notes.<sup>39</sup>

Since the majority of Gells are not likely to have played more than a minor role in the collection of texts now at the DRO, the prodigious quantities of copies made by Sir John Gell's younger brother Thomas (1595-1657) stand out as an exceptional individual contribution.<sup>40</sup> Thomas went to London to work, while Sir John maintained the family's interests in Derbyshire. He was there while studying for the bar in 1619,<sup>41</sup> and, judging by his later letters, appears to have remained in the city for most of his adult life.<sup>42</sup> Evidence exists for financial transactions with other members of the Inner Temple. He was elected as MP for Derby in November 1645,<sup>43</sup> having successfully defended himself and his brother against accusations of embezzling twenty thousand pounds in March of the same year.<sup>44</sup> His involvement with the collection is marked by his idiosyncratic (but highly legible) hand, which can be positively identified from a number of signed letters.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> D258/34/26/1-3.

<sup>38</sup> D258/34/26/2, [1<sup>v</sup>], [2<sup>r</sup>].

<sup>39</sup> D288/34/26/3.

<sup>40</sup> Not to be confused with his father, Thomas Gell (1532-1594). The sources for Thomas Gell's life appear to be found mostly among the Gell papers; he does not have an ODNB entry.

<sup>41</sup> Admitted to the Inner Temple in 1611. See W.H. Cooke, ed., *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple 1571-1625* ([London]: F. Cartwright, [1868]), 124.

<sup>42</sup> See D258/33/2/1; D258/17/31/41 asks to have post directed to the sign of the Pestle and Mortar on the Strand, near Somerset House, in 1655.

<sup>43</sup> D258/9/5/1-6.

<sup>44</sup> *The severall accompts of Sir John Gell, Baronet and Colonell, and of his brother Thomas Gell, Esquire, Lieutenant Colonell. Published to clear their innocency from false imputations* (London: Printed for R.L., 1644 [i.e. 1645]). The date is given by the copy in the Thomason tracts. Copies survive among the Gell papers at D3287/45/3 and D258/10/9/38.

<sup>45</sup> D258/17/31/40, July 5 1655; D258/17/31/41, Sept 11 1655, from Haddon; D258/17/31/46, May 6 1638; D258/28/52, April 11 1656; D258/33/2/1, July 24th 1619, London; D258/39/36 10 February, no year. For

The range and extent of texts that he copied is quite remarkable. Materially, Gell's copying was undertaken in fragments of books,<sup>46</sup> booklets<sup>47</sup> and separates on single or folded sheets.<sup>48</sup> As far as I have been able to tell, there is no regularity in the paper stocks that Thomas Gell used. In terms of content, key areas of copying include a popular range of texts relating to court affairs and literary works by John Donne. For court politics, Sir Walter Raleigh proved a particularly important locus, and Thomas Gell was responsible for the copy of Raleigh's epitaph on himself,<sup>49</sup> mentioned above, and several of his prose tracts.<sup>50</sup> Francis Bacon is given considerable attention too, with extracts from his work on the Church of England<sup>51</sup> and a copy of one of his speeches.<sup>52</sup> Texts relating to the second Earl of Essex receive a surprisingly light showing in Gell's hand, only represented by the letter from Penelope Rich to Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day 1600.<sup>53</sup> Various texts relating to the annulment of the marriage between the third Earl of Essex and Frances Howard are also copied: a fragment remains of Howard's suit for annulment,<sup>54</sup> and a copy of Donne's eclogue that was supposed to precede the epithalamion for Frances Howard and Robert Carr,<sup>55</sup> one of only a very few manuscript copies that survive. These fragments of poetry reflect Thomas Gell's copying of less overtly political material, such as a song from *The Mad Lover* (c. 1616) by John Fletcher,<sup>56</sup> and works by other less well-known figures. Donne remains a particular source of attraction, with Gell transcribing three of Donne's prose problems.<sup>57</sup> He also made a

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another relevant document copied from Thomas Gell's writing, see the 'allegations of the Gell party against Sanders' from 1644/5 D1232/O 24.

<sup>46</sup> Such as D258/7/13/6 (vi) – which is suggested by little bits of glue on the spine.

<sup>47</sup> D258/12/19 (iv).

<sup>48</sup> D258/39/33/1, D258/30/35, D258/7/5/16.

<sup>49</sup> D258/39/33/1, his epitaph, and /2, his 1618 speech on the scaffold.

<sup>50</sup> D258/10/2.

<sup>51</sup> D258/7/13/6.

<sup>52</sup> D258/39/35.

<sup>53</sup> D258/30/35.

<sup>54</sup> D258/7/13/6 [x].

<sup>55</sup> D258/7/5/9 (vi).

<sup>56</sup> D258/7/5/9 (i), the song 'Arm, arm, arm, arm! the scouts are all come in'.

<sup>57</sup> D258/6/5/9.

copy of the 1615 'Inner Temple Masque' by William Browne,<sup>58</sup> a particularly rare copy of a dramatic manuscript.<sup>59</sup>

This brief enumeration of the papers shows that there are some significant themes and trends in the writings that have been copied amongst the Gell papers. What interest Thomas Gell took in a writer like Donne, a set of events like the divorce of Essex and Howard, or more general courtly figures, is demonstrated in the copying of many substantial texts on the topic over what is likely to be a significant period of time. Also, Thomas Gell's position in London, and perhaps even within the Inns of Court, seems to have been very useful in the acquisition of texts: having copies of the Thomas Browne masque, or the Donne epithalamion, is extremely unusual.

It is interesting to find that it is not Gell's hand alone that contributes to these major themes. In contrast to the Howard trial reports and Donne's eclogue, there is an amateur copy of the libel 'ffrom Katherin docke there Launcht a pinke' on a single scrap of paper, now decaying at its folds to the point of destruction.<sup>60</sup> To accompany Thomas Gell's records of Walter Raleigh, a number of Raleigh's texts are given in copies made in professional hands.<sup>61</sup> This means that as well as being apparently an active pursuant of texts on those major themes, at times Gell would also take more of a back seat role, allowing texts from amateurs and professionals to accumulate passively around him.

Taking such readily observable trends and making them extend behind the production of the material into a conclusion about Thomas Gell's attitudes and beliefs is somewhat more precarious. If we push a little harder on the evidence before us, even thoroughly grounding questions of taste is not without its difficulties. Much of the content Gell acquired concerned

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<sup>58</sup> D258/67/1.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of the texts of the Browne masque see *A Book of masques: in honour of Allardyce Nicoll*. (1981 [1967]) see p. 200. On the Gell papers, I must express thanks to Peter Beal for sharing his unpublished index of texts at the Derbyshire Record Office, and to Lara Crowley who generously shared her work on Thomas Gell and Donne's prose problems with me.

<sup>60</sup> D258/7/5/16.

<sup>61</sup> See D258/10/72, D258/12/41, D258/31/73, D258/37/17, D258/39/4-6, D258/55/2.



political figures and events that were more or less universally known, some in texts that were virtually ubiquitous. Would it really have required anything in the way of discrimination or consideration to have gathered these texts together? We might portray Tom Gell as an avid reader, but an alternative narrative would see him as a suffering from a kind of ‘archive fever’,<sup>62</sup> fervently copying out any text that came within reach. John Hopkinson, the Yorkshire antiquary, seemed to have been of a similar mind later in the century, with the production of dozens of volumes of historical and literary notes by his own pen. That said, Gell was more careful with his literary texts than with his letters: his distinctive traits are manifest in both, but his letters show distinctly signs of speed and haste that are not found elsewhere in his copying.

A final point remains to highlight the ambiguity of the intended use and destinations for all of these copies. It seems probable that the majority of them would have been used as Thomas Gell’s personal archive, the much larger equivalent of a miscellany volume in a book. Upon his death in 1657, those papers returned from London to the family home (though they are not mentioned in his will).<sup>63</sup> However, a more interesting possibility is that his copies were relayed out to his Derbyshire family, and that he himself acted as a kind of mediator between the literary scenes in London and the provinces. The miscellanies owned by other members of the family certainly attest to a more general interest in collecting texts by Gell family members,<sup>64</sup> and Thomas’ work could be an extension of that practice.

### *Manuscript Books*

Collections of separates are very important to the thesis’ key themes of copying, dissemination, and collecting because of the extremely palpable way in which its constituent

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<sup>62</sup> I borrow the term liberally from Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>63</sup> Derbyshire Record Office D258/9/2/1.

<sup>64</sup> Such as D258/10/15, D258/34/26/1.

takes encode those issues. A collection of separates is more clearly in a permanent state of becoming, impossible to be ‘finished’ in the way a book can when its blank pages run out. It is very important to understand that the same processes of collection in separates can take place in books; and that in spite of their material limitations, the majority of collections in books can be aptly described in such terms. They can, in fact, be more interesting in this respect, since books have features which make their use fundamentally different from separates – especially their capacity to be written in and re-used by multiple users time and again. By the very virtue of the book’s comparative solidity and permanence – the chances of the paper from a codex being used for lining pie dishes, making book bindings, or being carelessly discarded is, perhaps, more difficult and less likely than the same actions for separates – they are apt to have layers of interactions and engagements inscribed upon them. This is especially important to understand in relation to a manuscript book like MC15, to which many scribes contribute. But before undertaking on that bigger task, in this section we will examine the nature of some of the interactions that readers and copyists could have had with their books.

The best introduction to the use of manuscript collections is through a practice extremely prevalent in more ‘finished’ forms of book (whether print or otherwise), that of readers transcribing complete texts into the margins and blank space of otherwise unrelated books.<sup>65</sup> The transcription of poetry in this fashion was a well-established tradition by the seventeenth century, as readers had used the blank spaces at the beginning and ends of books to transcribe poems since at least the fifteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Examples of this practice abound,

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<sup>65</sup> On the idea of ‘recording’ as a feature of early modern readers, see Hackel, *Reading Material*, 46; notes with ‘no discernable relationship whatsoever to the texts they accompany’ have also been noted in Sherman, *Used Books*, 15.

<sup>66</sup> Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 27-29; see also, Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 22, in relation to Sir Stephen Powle’s commonplace book.

and it is safe to say that in a majority of cases the transcribed verse has no direct connection with the content of the volume into which it is copied.<sup>67</sup>

Copyists' use of blank paper books is, of course, most usually somewhat less arbitrary than the examples just given. A blank book is far more substantial than a blank margin or flyleaf, and represents a more deliberate intention to collect texts at some length. But when a second compiler begins to make transcriptions in the same book, we ought to be careful before assuming that the relationship between the two is anything but arbitrary. Natalie Zemon Davies has proposed that the early modern book can and should be considered 'not merely as a source for ideas and images, but as a carrier of relationships':<sup>68</sup> but for manuscript books, the evidence first suggests that they had a role in mediating relationships, materially instating a set of correspondences between the work of different scribes. Whether or not those relationships actually reflect a lived social connection is another matter that we can scarcely account for.

However, in many cases, we can see clearly that the same paper book has undergone clearly definable stages of use over some period of time – and not necessarily with any strictly meaningful connection between them. The potentially complex relationships between compilers could develop through what Jonathan Gibson has usefully described as 'casting off blanks': 'the practice of leaving several pages of a manuscript blank in order to create distinct sections into which to copy an as yet undecided number of texts'.<sup>69</sup> Gibson suggests two methods in particular that serve this end – the allocation of particular ranges of blank pages, in

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<sup>67</sup> There are innumerable copies of poems in flyleaves of printed books: see for example the Raleigh poem 'I am that Dido which thou here do'st see' in Chetham's Library copy of Jacob Pontanus, *Symbolarum libri XVII. quibus P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis ex probatissimis auctoribus declarantur, comparantur, illustrantur. Per Iacobum Pontanum de Societate Jesu*. (Lugduni: Apud Ioannem Pillehotte, 1604), rear fly leaf (Byrom 2.I.7.12). Mark Bland's discovery of two couplets from Donne's 'On his Mistress Going to Bed' in a margin is one example of how this practice could be conducted in any blank space; see the facsimile in Randall McLeod, 'Obliteration: Reading a Censored Text of Donne's "To His Mistress Going to Bed"', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 12 (2005), plate 3.

<sup>68</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 192. Quoted and exemplified in Sherman, *Used Books*, 17-18 and Wiggins, 'Printed Copies of Chaucer,' 29.

<sup>69</sup> Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks,' 208.

anticipation of their later completion; and ‘reverse casting-off of blanks’, using a blank volume from its opposite having already begun at the ‘start’.<sup>70</sup> These principles serve both to illustrate the ways in which a single copyist could use their own books, they are also important markers in the history of manuscript books’ re-use. Later compilers could use the allocated spaces left by the earlier compiler, for their own ends, or a second compiler could very well start from the ‘other’ end of the manuscript, to differentiate their efforts from that of their predecessors. Given that MC15 exemplifies the first, more complicated style of re-use, I want to begin by demonstrating some slightly more straightforward relationships manifest in two manuscript books with a provenance history in early modern Wales. The choice of studying manuscripts whose copying appears to have been undertaken partially in England, and partially in Wales, is not an incidental one. The transitions between those two national arenas are marked far more clearly than elsewhere, not just in styles of handwriting in content, but in language too.<sup>71</sup> The combination of evidence given to us by manuscripts that have traversed these two areas is particularly striking, and suggests how different the second use of a manuscript could be, in comparison with the first.

These possibilities are well illustrated by an octavo verse collection connected to the Griffiths family of Llanddyfnan in Anglesey, now held at the University of North Wales, Bangor.<sup>72</sup> Little seems to be known of the family in this period, and given the prevalence of the name ‘Griffith’ it is difficult to develop even a general sense of their activities in the region or elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> Most of the collection was copied along the lines of a ‘university’ miscellany, in

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>71</sup> For an overview of a number of relevant issues in the field of the circulation of Welsh books, see Philip Henry Jones, ‘Wales,’ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume IV, 1557-1695*, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 719-34, which also includes remarks on the copying of Welsh manuscripts (733).

<sup>72</sup> University of Wales, Bangor, MS 422.

<sup>73</sup> The connection between the manuscript and the family is tenuous: one Welsh poem in the text appears to be in praise of ‘Sion Griffyth’; other names are referred to in those sections which I have not been able to identify any further.

the form first identified by Mary Hobbs.<sup>74</sup> It includes poems with a very distinct relationship to Christ Church College, Oxford, such as a rare elegy on one Stanhope ('And hast thou left vs, then deare soule must wee' pp. 19-20), who died while at the college in 1625,<sup>75</sup> Corbett's verses on the making of the bell at Christ Church, 'Be dumbe ye infant Chimes, thumpe not your mettle' (pp. 21-22) and King James' visit to Oxford ('The kinge and the court desirous of sport', pp. 53-4)), a poem 'On the order of choosinge proctors Chrit: chu: / the I and Iesus the last // This blessed circle cannot chuse but please' (p. 51), and other poems by Corbett and Strode that emanated from the university setting. These are mixed in with other familiar poems from verse miscellanies, including poems by Donne and several libels on the Somersets and Buckingham. All of these widely circulating poems in English are copied in two neat amateur hands, as Joshua Eckhardt has observed.<sup>76</sup> They may belong to one person, or two working closely together, since the labour of copying one longer poem is divided between the two of them.

Judging by much of its content, then, the Griffiths volume is rather conventional and, interesting as it is, unremarkable in its compilation of poetry that was common in metropolitan settings, and especially around Oxford University. What makes the volume much more interesting is how a second copyist has worked around this first use of the book. This later hand is much less elegant than the early copyists: although it is a clearly readable italic, its forms are large, and lacking in control. It copies texts in the spaces that appear to have been left by the earlier hands, concentrated at the at the very end and the very beginning of the manuscript.<sup>77</sup> The earlier copyists may not have taken care to leave room for any additional material further to what they had already compiled, but enough remained for the later copyist to use fairly freely. A distinction between the two phases of compiling are finally marked by a

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<sup>74</sup> University of Wales, Bangor, MS 422; Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, 87-90.

<sup>75</sup> See Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1886* (Oxford and London: Parker and co, 1891-1892).

<sup>76</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 273.

<sup>77</sup> Bangor MS 422, pp. 1-8.

dramatic shift in the kind of content that is transcribed. Instead of the urbane and mass circulating poetry that the earlier hands transcribed, the later copyist produces a range of poems in Welsh, seemingly directed towards a local audience, and dated to 1681/2.<sup>78</sup> One praises John Griffith for being a great leader of people, and it is said that ‘he speaks our language’.<sup>79</sup> Just as many of the ‘Christ Church’ poems are marked for a readership among the Oxford academic community, this second range of poems in the Griffith manuscript are specifically oriented towards a local Welsh community of readers.

Exactly how the manuscript was transferred from one place to another, is not entirely clear. There would have been a reasonably steady flow of Welsh speakers coming and going to the English metropolitan centres, since Wales did not have any educational institutions equivalent to the universities or Inns of Court during the seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> The discovery of further information on the names involved in the Griffiths manuscript may reveal something more on this. But the fact that a book could be used like this – taking a free passage from one scheme of collecting and use to another – is, in itself, remarkable.

The Griffiths manuscript is not an isolated case, and the pattern of its transmission and use could well be representative of a more significant trend that has to date gone unnoticed. A comparable example is given in a manuscript owned by William Jordan, a schoolteacher from Denbighshire in the 1670s and 80s.<sup>81</sup> The earlier part of this manuscript (now labelled part II owing to a mistake in re-binding) is made up from texts very familiar from manuscripts of the first half of the seventeenth century: poems by Robert Herrick,<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-8 (‘Att Benedefique Sion Griffyth o // Landdyfan yr Sir fon’), 83-85 (‘Nid plas o toydr glas ar glawr’, ‘Englynion yn y clefyd diwartha // wrth weled flind dwynd afenydd guo’, 92 (‘Noeth bychan a gwan y genir did ^byn^’, ‘Er i wen Lawen Loyns ewic gwywa’), 109 (‘in Griffithum Rixosum or Pelagius answering in his native language // ffori ai fri ni that fram nai lyfr’). The date is on p. 8.

<sup>79</sup> In the poem ‘Att Benedefique Sion Griffyth o / Landdyfnan yr Sir fon’ by ‘Mr Iohn Vaughanai cant’.

<sup>80</sup> Jones, ‘Wales,’ 721.

<sup>81</sup> Now, Folger MS V.a.276.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., fols. 4<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>.

Thomas Carew,<sup>83</sup> Ben Jonson<sup>84</sup> and John Harington,<sup>85</sup> as well as the libel on ‘The five sences’.<sup>86</sup> All of these poems are neatly copied in italic written on very deliberately ruled lines (for example, see fig. 3).

The later copying done in William Jordan’s hand begins at the opposite end of the manuscript (in what is now called part I), using the book upside-down in comparison with the work of the earlier copyist. Several dateable notes and items show that the book was being actively used by Jordan during the 1670s and 1680s. There is none of the careful presentation of the earlier transcription, and Jordan’s writing often verging on the illegible (fig. 4). The content transcribed by Jordan is far more varied than that of the earlier scribe, including poems in Welsh,<sup>87</sup> Latin<sup>88</sup> and English,<sup>89</sup> and several pages of near-illegible notes on rents and other business.<sup>90</sup> Some of the poems are signed by Jordan, such as ‘The plain Protestant or Relligion without A masque // Give me the man that loves his country’s laws’,<sup>91</sup> and another celebrates Charles II.<sup>92</sup> Jordan’s use of the verse miscellany is far more varied, stretching into note-taking, and his collection is perhaps less focussed on an immediate locality than the Griffiths text.

Both the Jordan and the Griffiths volumes are worthy of closer attention, but even a fairly cursory appreciation of them leaves us with an enhanced understanding of the processes of manuscript use in the seventeenth century. In neither case does the evidence especially invite us to consider the books as ‘collaborative’ in any real sense. While they may have been produced by individuals who knew one another, the safest assumption is that the main point of interpersonal contact between the compilers of the book was the book itself. This is

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., fols. 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., fols. 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., fols. 49<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., fols. 40<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., fols. 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., fols. 12<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., fols. 8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., fols. 9<sup>r</sup>.

especially striking since a great deal apparently separates the two phases of copying that these manuscript books have sustained, carried out at distinct moments in time, in geographically remote locations as they were.<sup>93</sup>

More generally, these conclusions give us a very strong sense of how a blank paper book was regarded as an open text, never a closed or finished repository so long as it had usable blank pages remaining.<sup>94</sup> The moment at which copyists stopped copying texts into a book is just one moment in its history, preceded by many others – none of which has an intrinsically greater authority. In every amateur collection of verse, every poem is an element of activity that collectively produce (what now looks like) a whole volume.

*Chetham's Library, MS A.4.15 (MC15)*

This final section of the chapter will present a description of MC15 influenced by the preceding accounts of manuscript collections. The work on the Gell separates has shown how a single scribe's copying could be undertaken in fragmentary stints over a long period of time and in various forms; and, as the studies of the Welsh manuscripts demonstrate, early modern compilers were quite ready to use and re-use a single book in altogether different ways. Similar issues regarding the process of MC15's production – as especially evidenced through handwriting analysis – will be the most important aspect of the description offered here.

Given the important place that MC15 is given in this thesis, the description that is presented below will be far more extensive than the others already given, and the reading of handwriting and content will be presented only after a detailed account of the manuscript's provenance

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<sup>93</sup> A slightly more closely connected kind of transmission is found in those manuscripts started in London before moving on the universities, as described in Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 167. For another verse miscellany that mixes English and Welsh material without such a marked transmission of ownership, see Bodl. MS Don. c. 54, discussed in Katherine Duncan-Jones, "'Preserved Dainties': Late Elizabethan Poems by Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Clanricarde," *Bodleian Library Record* 14.2 (1992), 136-44.

<sup>94</sup> I have stumbled on many more partially-used books in provincial repositories than in major collections (such as the collections at the British Library, Bodleian, Folger, or Beinecke), whose contents would have been more mediated by book collectors: 'incomplete' collections in books may be more common than we might think. See, for example, the 50 out of 80 blank folios in Brotherton MS Lt 25; Chetham's Library MS A.4.16; and Derbyshire Record Office D258/34/26/2.



and material form. The preceding discussions of manuscripts should have made clear that the description of manuscripts comes into its own when used as an analytical and interpretative tool. As such, the intention of the account presented here is not simply to objectively describe MC15 and its background (necessary as those objective details are), but to seek to analyse and interpret the manuscript, and to discriminate between more or less valuable aspects of the evidence it presents us with.

For most commentators, the most striking feature of MC15 is its possible connections to the Inns of Court.<sup>95</sup> The point is usually made in passing, and has never been extensively argued for; but the association is generally most likely to have been based on the biographical connections of the content from the manuscript. For example, the rare ‘Gulling Sonnets’ with their deliberate mis-appropriation of legal language; other poetry by John Davies, and an extensive selection of texts by John Hoskyns (1566-1638), another lawyer; and rare psalms by Francis and Christopher Davison (1573/4–1613x19 and *b.* 1581), the former of whom studied at the Inns. Krueger and Nemser went so far as to suppose that the manuscript’s owner was a close contemporary of Davies and Hoskyns at the Inns of the 1590s.<sup>96</sup> Given how much more we now know about the breadth of manuscript circulation, such a close connection seems no more probable than the collector being more distantly related geographically or temporally. Approaching the assortment of texts that have been described as ‘Inns of Court’ manuscripts is different, and potentially more difficult, than approaching the well-known ‘Christ Church’ collections as outlined by Mary Hobbs.<sup>97</sup> In ‘Christ Church’ miscellanies, the manuscripts are soundly connected to one another by a dense

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<sup>95</sup> See, for example, John Pitcher, *Samuel Daniel: The Brotherton Manuscript: a Study in Authorship*, Leeds Texts and Monographs (Leeds: University of Leeds Department of English, 1981), 174; Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 36; H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 166; Michael Rudick, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: a Historical Edition* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1999), 224-5.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Krueger and Ruby Nemser, *The Poems of Sir John Davies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 436.

<sup>97</sup> Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, 116-129 and the praise afforded in Peter Beal, ‘Introduction: Do Manuscript Studies in the Early Modern Period Have a Future?’, *Shakespeare Studies* 33 (2004), 50.

web of overlapping content, which is also thematically organized. There is far less common ground between the collections attributed to the Inns, and individual manuscripts therefore still need detailed work to be done in order to tease out connections from them.<sup>98</sup> A more extensive reading of MC15 stands to provide some useful rejoinders to the idea of its association with the Inns, as well as providing a fuller introduction to manuscript collection more generally.

While the idea that MC15 has a connection to the Inns remains a potentially suggestive organizing principle for research into the manuscript, it is not long before pursuing the notion any further runs out of firm evidence, whether internal or external. Research into provenance can place MC15 back (albeit speculatively) as far as the early eighteenth century, but not anywhere near so far back as its original context of compilation. Even the range of texts that MC15 compiles, a key feature of an ‘Inns’ connection, is broader than that simple designation allows for; compiling texts from a wide geographical sphere as it does, it is potentially limiting to assign the manuscript to a solely metropolitan setting. As this chapter will show, MC15 offers to us a potentially more intellectually stimulating range of evidence in the form of its handwriting, which has not (to date) received the attention that it deserves.<sup>99</sup>

Our account will follow the trajectory suggested in the preceding paragraph. The provenance of MC15 will be the first area to be discussed, and the Farmer manuscripts at Chetham’s Library will be tracked back as far as evidence will allow. We will then move on to a description of the paper and codicology of MC15, and an overview of its content and hands. We will then finish with analyses of both content and hands. Taken together, it is hoped that this description will start to show how, even bereft of the most basic contextual knowledge

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<sup>98</sup> The manuscript most commonly cited alongside MC15 is Rosenbach 1083/15; other relevant manuscripts include BL MSS Add. 21433, Add. 25303 and Sloane 3910; and the Leweston Fitzjames collection, Bod. MS Add. B. 97. Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 167.

<sup>99</sup> The relative complexity of the handwriting is acknowledged in Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, 1.iv.

for a volume, we can produce an account of this manuscript which is stimulating in ways it has not previously been considered.

MC15 is one of a group of seven manuscripts that came to Chetham's Library from the collection of Richard Farmer (1735-1797) some time between the sale of the Farmer library in May 1798 and the 1826 publication of the third volume of the Chetham's Library catalogue in 1826.<sup>100</sup> Of the seven, two are fundamentally similar in character to MC15, being collections of verse from the early seventeenth century.<sup>101</sup> Another is a collection of satires written and collected by Oliver le Neve from the 1660s, and in its presentation it shares some resemblance to those collections.<sup>102</sup> The final three are medieval manuscripts, more distinct from the early modern texts. One of these is linked to the others through the kinds of literary texts it copies: thirteen poems from the late fifteenth century, including the *Ipomadon* (from which the volume typically takes its name).<sup>103</sup> Another is a miscellany of prose works,<sup>104</sup> while the third is an Italian copy of the third century historian Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus.<sup>105</sup>

Confusingly, in annotated copies of the *Bibliotheca Farmeriana* (Richard Farmer's sale catalogue), the relevant lots are listed as having been sold to 'Leigh and Sotheby.'<sup>106</sup> 'Leigh and Sotheby' are also listed as the buyers of another four manuscript lots that did not come to

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<sup>100</sup> The reader may find Appendix 1, which presents a tabulation of these manuscripts with the various catalogue numbers they have had, to be useful in navigating this section. Ker's listing of medieval manuscripts relies on the four-digit catalogue numbers, while shelfmarks tend to be the more common appellation in the library itself.

<sup>101</sup> Chetham's MSS A.4.16 and A.3.47.

<sup>102</sup> Chetham's MS A.4.14.

<sup>103</sup> Chetham's MS A.6.31. It should be noted that Chetham's MSS A.4.7-A.4.13, collections of miscellaneous poems from the eighteenth century, are definitely not from the Farmer collection, in spite of what the Chetham's handlist of manuscripts has suggested. This mistake is likely to have arisen as the result of a carelessly extended line in the handlist of manuscripts done by Charles Phillips (librarian between December 1920 and April 1945) in July 1925: see Chetham's C/LIB/LIST/1/4.

<sup>104</sup> Chetham's MS A.4.102.

<sup>105</sup> Chetham's MS A.6.88.

<sup>106</sup> Including §8053, 8062, 8055, 8075, and 8091; for the various catalogue numbers assigned to the manuscripts, please see Appendix 1. I refer to the copy of now held at Glasgow University Library; the other copy annotated with purchasers and prices is at the British Library, S.C. 1048. An annotated copy at Chetham's records prices, but not purchasers.

Chetham's.<sup>107</sup> Other than these, Leigh and Sotheby appear to have bought no printed material or items other than manuscripts in the sale. Since no accessions register was kept for Chetham's Library between 1797 and 1845 and there is therefore no local documentation of the arrival of these manuscripts, it is not exactly clear how they travelled from the sale to the library. One suggestion comes from Neil Ker, who proposes that Leigh and Sotheby 'was presumably acting for Chetham's Library'.<sup>108</sup> Records from Sotheby's that might have been illuminated this relationship were destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century, though there is no known tradition of Sotheby's acting on behalf of third-party bidders.<sup>109</sup>

In many respects it is surprising that Chetham's acquired any of these manuscripts from the Farmer sale. By the mid nineteenth century, the library appears to have had only nine medieval manuscripts, some of which had been presented to the library as donations.<sup>110</sup> Only five came from auctions; in addition to those that came from Farmer's sale, these include a copy of the poems of Alain Chartier (A.6.91), purchased at the Roscoe sale in 1816 for a substantial six guineas, and a copy of Roger Bacon's medical works (A.4.101) from Dawson Turner's sale in 1859 for a rather more modest 10 shillings. Ten of the library's medieval manuscripts only arrived in 1870, as part of the donation of the library of John Byrom (1692–1763) by his descendent, the Manchester-based philanthropist Eleanora Atherton (1782–1870). In the late 1790s, then, Chetham's Library had not established a clear interest in purchasing manuscripts, making their ventures at the Farmer sale (whether directly or indirectly) very unusual. Perhaps even more surprisingly, then, the expense incurred by the purchase of the *Ipomadon* was extremely high – at 14 guineas, this was the most expensive item of the sale, an extraordinary price to pay. The prices for other lots seem minor by comparison:

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<sup>107</sup> §8031, 8070, 8072, 8078.

<sup>108</sup> N.R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, vol III: Lampeter-Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 364 n2.

<sup>109</sup> For this information, I am grateful to Dr. Gabriel Heaton of Sotheby's.

<sup>110</sup> Ker, ed., *Medieval Manuscripts*, 335. The lavish *Flores Historiarum* (MS A.6.89), for example, was given to the library in 1657 by a man from Stockport.

for the two lots comprised of two early modern manuscripts each, £1 3s (§ 8053) and £1 5s (§ 8056) were paid;<sup>111</sup> and for the other medieval manuscripts, £1 2s (§ 8003), £1 9s (§ 8075).<sup>112</sup> However, these amounts are rather more than nugatory, and it improbable (though not impossible) that they would have been bought only as an easy complement to the auction's more central purchase. That the books came to the library reasonably soon after the sale, may be suggested by the unusually high 'amount due' by the library for the financial year of 1798-1799, £116 12s 8d.<sup>113</sup>

Around this period in the library's history, patterns of manuscript acquisition often suggest clear bias towards the personal interests of its librarians. For example, the many oriental manuscripts probably acquired in the late eighteenth century by librarian John Haddon Hindley (1765-1827, librarian 1792-1804) were sufficiently obscure to associates of the library by the time of the 1826 catalogue that 'specific subjects [are] not yet ascertained'.<sup>114</sup> There does not appear to be any such equivalent bias for the acquisition of the Farmer manuscripts. The *Ipomadon* was clearly a draw, and its description in the 1826 catalogue would extend to over two and half pages, amidst a majority of entries that were little more than a few lines long.<sup>115</sup> The absence of a significant body of medieval manuscripts from the library's collections may have been the main draw of the sale, and the rest, some slightly arbitrary (but convenient) additions. MC15 may have taken Grosart's interest by the 1870s, but all he could do was complain that 'who placed this MS. in the Chetham Library, and when it was acquired,

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<sup>111</sup> It is difficult to ascertain how representative these prices are for collections of seventeenth century verse. In February 1790 Malone considered ten guineas an 'exorbitant price' for what is now Bodl. MS Malone 19, as he records in the book itself; Bodl. MS Eng. Poet. e. 14 was purchased for five pounds and ten shillings, 1896, as recorded in the Bodleian's *Summary Catalogue*.

<sup>112</sup> It seems that the library got what they paid for: the *Ipomadon* continues to be one of the most frequently referenced medieval manuscripts, while the other manuscripts from the Farmer sale have hardly received any attention.

<sup>113</sup> Chetham's Library, Mun.A.5 Minutes (23 May 1759 – 23 July 1828), 218 (pagination finishes at 210). Alternative archival location mark is C/CHL/MIN/2.

<sup>114</sup> William Gresswell, *Bibliotheca Chethamensis: Sive Bibliotheca Publica Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham Armigero Fundata Catalogi*, 3 vols. (Manchester: Henry Smith, 1826), §7980 and 7981.

<sup>115</sup> Gresswell, *Bibliotheca Chethamensis* vol. 3, 167-170.

have not been transmitted'.<sup>116</sup> We are able, nonetheless, to trace MC15 back to the collection of a significant former owner, Richard Farmer (1735-1797).

Richard Farmer is now remembered for his contributions to several areas of scholarship and administration. As a literary scholar, he wrote an *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767), much admired in its time; as an antiquarian, he endeavoured – and ultimately, failed – to produce a history of his native Leicestershire.<sup>117</sup> In Cambridge, he was Master of Emmanuel College from 1775,<sup>118</sup> and Librarian of the University Library from 1778, continuing in both offices until his death.<sup>119</sup> But no less important than any of these pursuits, he was a book collector, who in the course of his life had produced 'a library celebrated nationally for its range, [which] by the time of his death it had become one of the most remarkable of its kind anywhere.'<sup>120</sup>

The markedly unglamorous verse manuscripts of which MC15 is a representative have often survived only as the result of the efforts of utterly omnivorous collectors such as Rawlinson, Harley, or Tanner, who preserved scraps and books of all kinds so long as they were in manuscript form.<sup>121</sup> Farmer's collecting, at least so far as it is represented by his sale catalogue, does not appear to have been of such a form. Miscellaneous as the contents of his collection were, important trends ran throughout: Lloyd describes an interest in English

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<sup>116</sup> Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, 1.iv. Nor are any remarks given in the earliest notice of the manuscript in John Hannah, 'Elizabethan Sacred Poetry,' *British Critic* LXII (April 1842), 325-66.

<sup>117</sup> Richard Farmer, *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: 1767); Farmer's literary and antiquarian projects are discussed in Farmer, *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, Arthur Sherbo, *Richard Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge: A Forgotten Shakespearean* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992).

<sup>118</sup> Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke and Patrick Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College Cambridge* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 391-400.

<sup>119</sup> David McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library: A History; Volume 2: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 303-351.

<sup>120</sup> McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, 296. On Farmer's collecting, see also Sydney Roberts, *Richard Farmer (1735-1797)* (No place of publication: The Library Association, 1961) and L.J. Lloyd, 'Dr Richard Farmer 1735-97: Portrait of a Bibliophile XXI,' *The Book Collector* 26.4 (1977), 534-36.

<sup>121</sup> See B.J. Enright, 'Rawlinson and the chandlers,' *Bodleian Library Record* iv (1953), 216-27; W. A. Speck, 'Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661-1724),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12344> (accessed June 17, 2010); M. J. Sommerlad, 'The Historical and Antiquarian Interests of Thomas Tanner, 1674-1735, Bishop of St Asaph,' Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford University, 1962, 311, and especially BL MS Lansdowne 1038, fol. 131, quoted in Sommerlad, 'Interests of Thomas Tanner,' 320.

poetry, together with an interest in early printing, as lying at ‘the true heart of Farmer’s library.’<sup>122</sup> The estimate of Farmer’s contemporaries was similar, with one regarding the collection as containing ‘the most rare and copious Assemblage of Old English Poetry, that, perhaps, was ever exhibited at one view.’<sup>123</sup> Unsurprisingly for a Shakespearean, he collected a good deal of early modern writing, and ‘Elizabethans ... took pride of place in the collection’.<sup>124</sup> Texts that would correspond especially closely to the matter of MC15 and the early modern manuscripts now at Chetham’s include copies of *Britton’s Bowre of Delights*, the *Paradyse of Dainty Devices*, and John Davies’ *Nosce Teipsum*.<sup>125</sup> He collected other unidentified collections of poems,<sup>126</sup> parliamentary papers,<sup>127</sup> and commonplace books.<sup>128</sup>

Manuscripts were a significant though comparatively small portion of Farmer’s collection, taking up some 101 lots in the sale in comparison to the 8001 printed lots.<sup>129</sup> Although we do not have any direct evidence for the esteem with which he held his personal manuscripts, they were an important priority during his time as University Librarian. David McKitterick claims that the attention that Farmer gave to manuscripts at the University Library was ‘the most striking [feature] of all Farmer’s librarianship.’<sup>130</sup> In contrast to his reputed negligence in the treatment of his own books, Farmer oversaw a programme of purchasing, cataloguing, rebinding, and publication of manuscripts from a wide range of

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<sup>122</sup> Lloyd, ‘Dr Richard Farmer,’ 532.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 524. Dibdin is similarly enamoured by this aspect of his collection, and lists what he considers to be some of the finest treats from the literary elements of his sale; Thomas Dibdin, *Bibliomania; or Book-Madness; A Bibliographical Romance*, 2nd ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), 423–426.

<sup>124</sup> Lloyd, ‘Dr Richard Farmer,’ 353.

<sup>125</sup> *Bibliotheca Farmeriana. A Catalogue of the Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library, in Print and Manuscript, of the Late Revd. Richard Farmer, D.D.* (London: Thomas King, 1798), §6395, 7232, 7227.

<sup>126</sup> *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, §8051.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., §8012, 8099.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., §8008, 8010, 8039. The former two lots contain four and twelve volumes respectively; §8010 was compiled either by, or from the writings of, John ‘Orator’ Henley (1692–1756); the last, Bishop Cumberland’s remarks on the 1st commandment (1632–1718).

<sup>129</sup> These figures are only approximate as representations of books, since, as Lloyd notes, ‘it is difficult to give an exact impression of either its size or quality, since many of the lots contained more than one item, and the titles of these are often not given’. Lloyd, ‘Dr Richard Farmer,’ 535.

<sup>130</sup> McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library* 326.

cultural traditions.<sup>131</sup> The sources for his own manuscripts and printed books are likely to have included the major London auctions, where Farmer is known to have made many significant purchases.<sup>132</sup>

While it would be impossible to generalise about patterns of Farmer's manuscript acquisitions without identifying items from his collections in their current repositories, three of his manuscripts at Chetham's can confidently be traced back before his collection. A number of previous owners of *Ipomadon* (A.6.31) have left their names on the flyleaf: It was owned in 1598 by Peter Manwood, who additionally conjectures the manuscript to have been produced in the reign of Richard II.<sup>133</sup> The manuscript had been passed to J. Hardres – possibly through a family connection<sup>134</sup> – by 1732, who agreed the dating, while its subsequent owner, the antiquarian and Anglo-Saxonist Bryan Fausset, placed its origins at the end of the reign of Henry III. Richard Farmer bought it at Monro's sale in April 1792.<sup>135</sup> A slightly more provocative mark of ownership on a flyleaf is given in MS A.4.16, a miscellaneous collection of verse from the early seventeenth century, which features the distinctive signature of Thomas Martin (1697-1771), the Norfolk book collector.<sup>136</sup>

Before Martin, there is no further evidence for its ownership; but the connection to Martin is very interesting, given that MS A.4.16 ended up in the Farmer collection with MS A.4.14, a book of original and copied Restoration satires, 'collected & written' by Oliver Le Neve (1662-1711). In his teens, Martin became close friends with Oliver's elder brother, the

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<sup>131</sup> Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, 425.

<sup>132</sup> McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, 306, 326; Lloyd, 'Dr Richard Farmer,' 526.

<sup>133</sup> For Manwood see Louis A. Knafla, 'Manwood, Sir Peter (1571–1625),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18013> (accessed June 17, 2011).

<sup>134</sup> Sir Thomas Hardres (1609/10-1681) had married the widow of Peter Manwood of Sandwich (a different Peter than the marked owner of the manuscript) in 1651. See Stuart Handley, 'Hardres, Sir Thomas (1609/10–1681),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12275> (accessed June 16, 2011).

<sup>135</sup> Lot 3399. See Ker, ed., *Medieval Manuscripts*, 364.

<sup>136</sup> Compare with a reproduction in David Stoker, 'The Ill-Gotten Library of "Honest Tom" Martin,' *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), 90. The following account of Martin is based on this very useful article.



herald and antiquary Peter Le Neve (1661-1729).<sup>137</sup> This friendship eventually led to Martin's appointment as the executor of Le Neve's will.<sup>138</sup> After Le Neve's death in 1731, a good portion of his library was sold at an auction at which Martin made significant purchases.<sup>139</sup> A majority of the remainder consisted of manuscript collections relating to the history of Norfolk, which Le Neve had wanted to placed at public disposal. However, as Stoker writes, 'with no individual having any claim on the ownership, they were gradually amalgamated into Martin's own library and all thought of their being housed in a public repository was soon forgotten,' eased along by Martin's marriage to Le Neve's widow.<sup>140</sup> We do not have a record of the Oliver Le Neve volume in his brother's collection: the sale catalogue of Peter Le Neve (a copy of which was owned by Farmer) is given largely to antiquarian records, both in print and manuscript, with no descriptions that approximate the book of satires.<sup>141</sup> However, it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that MS A.4.14 was transmitted to Martin's ownership through his underhand amalgamations. For this one manuscript, then, there is a highly possible (though still hypothetical) provenance trail that runs from an original owner, through to its current repository. It would be a mistake to impose much of this narrative on to MC15 which, shorn of its original binding, lost any marks of ownership that were possibly there; however, this particular set of movements will be worth keeping in mind following a more general evaluation of the manuscript.

The difficulty of placing most of the Farmer in the hands of any early copyist, owner or reader, is frustrating. Even with that knowledge, assertions on the character of the intentions or the environment behind the manuscript would be shakey. Without it, we lack any comforting historical empirical solidity. But the lack of any convenient explanatory

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<sup>137</sup> Thomas Woodcock, 'Le Neve, Peter (1661–1729),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16440> (accessed January 22, 2008).

<sup>138</sup> Stoker, "'Honest Tom' Martin," 94-5.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>141</sup> *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library Collected by That Truly Laborious Antiquary Peter le Neve Esq; ....* (London: John Wilcox, 1730/31). For Farmer's copy, *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, §102.

context for MC15 necessitates an examination to the text itself that is all the more attentive, concerned as much with its physical form as with its written content. It is to these matters that the chapter will now turn.

MC15 is a quarto volume consisting of 112 leaves, each of which measures approximately 145 x 190 mm. Most leaves have a ‘pot’ watermark (fig. 5), in one of three positions, though some have no discernible watermark.<sup>142</sup> The extreme prevalence of ‘pot’ watermarks in early modern paper stocks gives us no immediate help in dating the manuscript, but it is at least consistent with what we would expect of an early seventeenth-century manuscript. The gatherings were rebound at some point in the nineteenth century, leaving no trace of the original binding; the comparable Farmer manuscripts at Chetham’s, MSS A.3.47 and A.4.16 are still preserved in their original limp vellum, and it is likely that MC15 would have originally been bound in the same style. The nineteenth-century binding was removed in September 2008, mechanical damage having rendered it virtually unusable.

Being disbound, the gatherings of MC15 are currently highly accessible to study, but even with close attention, their precise structure is not fully clear. An approximate formula presented in the style endorsed by both Eckhardt and Mark Bland reads approximately as follows:<sup>143</sup>

$$1^{\text{eight}} 2-5^8 6^8(-6.1) 7^6 8^2 9^8(-9.1) 10^2 11^6(-11.1) 12^{10}(-12.1, -12.9) 13^8(-13.6, -13.8) \\ 14^4 15^8 16^6(-16.4, -16.6) 17^{\text{one}} 18^6 19^{10}(-19.10).$$

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<sup>142</sup> Comparable to C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier Dès Leur Apparition Vers 1282 Jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: The Paper Publication Society, 1968), vol iv, §12801-2. I am grateful to Dr Fergus Wilde for his photography of MC15’s watermarks.

<sup>143</sup> See Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 207-8, and Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Blackwell-Wiley, 2010), 69-71. Each gathering (or perceived gathering) is given an Arabic numeral according to its placement in the manuscript; the upper case numbers represent the number of leaves perceived to have been in that gathering; numbers in brackets indicate leaves that ‘complete’ gatherings supposedly lack. Where it is impossible to usefully suggest the original number of leaves in a gathering, the number of remaining leaves is spelled out – as in 17<sup>one</sup>.

The various bindings and re-bindings that the manuscript has undergone have caused significant decay and distortion to the folds, so that the gatherings cannot be simply ‘read’, as we might hope. This formula is therefore primarily based on those conjugate pairs that remain physically intact, and the assessment of ‘twin’ watermarks. As with the watermarks themselves, the evidence from the gatherings is primarily one of reassurance: we can be well assured that MC15 was not compiled from various independent booklets, but that it started its life of usage as a blank book. The consistency of the paper stock could be a sign that the book was initially produced professionally.<sup>144</sup>

Relatively little material damage has befallen MC15, and besides its rebinding it has demanded almost no conservation. The one exception is on fol. 60, where a 120 x 135 mm section of the bottom right hand corner of the page has been cut out and repaired with a machine-made paper glued to the verso. Only a tantalizing snippet of the generic title ‘A Sonnet’, with some elaborate tails extending from the extreme left of the extracted section remain visible on the recto. The section could have been ripped out at any stage in the life of the manuscript, perhaps by accident or for censorship; however, the machine manufacturing of the replacement paper indicates that the repair made in or after the nineteenth century.<sup>145</sup>

The most basic material circumstances of MC15 are not especially telling, and the content and handwriting of the text need to be explored. We can usefully follow the content of MC15 through three major groupings of material in the manuscript: an early selection of prose (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>), a mid-section of poetry (fols. 47<sup>v</sup>-101<sup>r</sup>), and a final mix of prose and poetry (106<sup>r</sup>-118<sup>v</sup>). In the following description, we will enumerate the content of the manuscript, together with a brief assessment of the hands in which that content was written.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> For some reflections on the significance of the materials of manuscript collections, see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 16.

<sup>145</sup> For comparable though similarly obscure examples of page removal, see Bodl. MSS Ashmole 38, p. 175 and Malone 19, pp. 83-4. No mention of the missing poem, or the repaired page at the end of the epigram sequence, is made by Groasrt at the relevant place in his edition; see *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, 1.106.

<sup>146</sup> Appendix 3 presents a list of the contents of MC15, with the hands in which it is written.

The early section of prose in MC15 is comprised of legal reports and letters from the early seventeenth century, a majority of which are known in many other contemporary manuscripts. Most refer to the affairs of courtiers, and especially those persons that were very commonly represented in manuscript circulation: the second Earl of Essex, Walter Raleigh, and Francis Bacon.<sup>147</sup> The work of their transcription was undertaken by several hands. MC15 begins – without blank pages or prefatory material of any kind – with a long report on the final trial of the second Earl of Essex from February 1601 which led to his execution (1<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>v</sup>), and the Star Chamber proceedings of November 1599 that followed his untimely return from Ireland in September of that year (18<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>). Five letters are then transcribed, four of which are closely related to Essex and his troubles: from Thomas Egerton to Essex, probably dating to the summer of 1598 (26<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>);<sup>148</sup> from Queen Elizabeth to Lady Margery Norris, on the death of her two sons in the summer of 1599 (28<sup>r</sup>), the one text in this series without a connection to Essex;<sup>149</sup> the important letter from Essex's sister, Lady Penelope Rich, to Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day 1600, petitioning on behalf of her brother (29<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>);<sup>150</sup> and a final text from Essex to the Queen, which has been often associated with the failures of his mission to Ireland though it is rarely marked as such in manuscript copies (30<sup>v</sup>).<sup>151</sup> This array is followed by a rather less well-known letter, written by Mountjoy on the occasion of Essex's absence from court, which, like the letter by Thomas Egerton which follows, was most probably sent in summer 1598 (31<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>). Up to and including the letter from Lady Rich to the Queen, all of the texts were copied by hand A. The final two texts in this thematically linked opening are in

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<sup>147</sup> Common themes in manuscript collecting of the period: see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 94.

<sup>148</sup> The context and manuscripts of this letter are the subject of Chapter 5, below.

<sup>149</sup> Leah S. Marcus, Janet Mueller and Mary Beth Rose, eds., *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 389.

<sup>150</sup> James Daybell, 'Women, Politics and Domesticity: The Scribal Publication of Rich's Letter to Elizabeth I,' *Women as Scribes and the Domestication of Print Culture*, eds. Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 111-30.

<sup>151</sup> I am grateful to Michael Gale for sharing with me his notes of some thirteen of the manuscripts that copy this letter. For the association with Ireland, see Walter Bouchier Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. 1540-1646*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1853), 2.68.

hand B, whose work carries on into the next block of prose material, in which copying stints are significantly shorter.<sup>152</sup>

The early section of prose is completed by a further eight letters, divided equally between the correspondences of Francis Bacon and Walter Raleigh. They start with an exchange between Francis Bacon and Henry Howard, in which Bacon attempts (unsuccessfully) to re-align his patronal allegiances away from the Earl of Essex in December (32<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>);<sup>153</sup> then continue with two letters by Walter Raleigh, one in response to the transferral of his Sherbourne estate to Robert Carr in 1608, effectively trying to shame the younger man;<sup>154</sup> and a letter of farewell to his wife ahead of his (ultimately aborted) execution in 1603.<sup>155</sup> Bacon is then featured again, with his two pivotal letters to the House of Commons in March and April 1621 (37<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>).<sup>156</sup> The final two letters are from Raleigh to King James, both written in November 1603 ahead of his expected execution, and begging for mercy (41<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>).<sup>157</sup> Hand B continued its work from the Essex letters, by copying the two letters between Bacon and Howard. Raleigh's letter to Carr was transcribed by hand C, before a second Raleigh letter and the two by Bacon were copied by D. Hand C then returns to copy the second Raleigh letter. Of the hands involved in the transcription of this early section of prose, hands A, D, and E, make additional transcriptions in the volume; the writing of hands B and C only appears at this point.

After the last transcription in the early section of prose, the pages from 42<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup> are left blank, and thereby the central section of poetry in MC15 is distinguished from the prose. It is a definite possibility that these were 'blanks cast off' in anticipation of more extensive prose

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<sup>152</sup> For some notes on the attribution of texts to hands A and D, see Appendix 2.

<sup>153</sup> Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'", 329-30.

<sup>154</sup> Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings, eds., *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), xlviii and §197.

<sup>155</sup> Latham and Youings, eds., *Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, §172.

<sup>156</sup> Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon, 1561-1626*. (London: Gollancz, 1998), 452-459. In MC15, the latter letter is dated to the 22nd of April 1621: the only letter of any in the manuscript to receive a dating.

<sup>157</sup> Latham and Youings, eds., *Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, §168, 170, both from November of that year.

transcriptions than ultimately materialised in the manuscript. The opening poems of this section are the nine famous ‘Gulling Sonnets’, attributed to ‘Mr Dauies’, generally understood to be identified with the lawyer John Davies (1569-1626), who received his knighthood in 1603 (47<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>).<sup>158</sup> The epigrammatic spirit of those poems is followed up with epigrams by John Harington, though mixed with another sometimes attributed to Francis Davison (50<sup>v</sup>); epigrams and lyrics attributed to John Hoskyns (51<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>); and the widely circulating songs ‘The man of life vpright whose guiltles heart is free’ and ‘The lowest trees haue topps: the Ante her gall’ (52<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>). A series of nine short love lyrics ensue, unknown in other manuscripts of the time: seven are anonymous (53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>), and seven are attributed to ‘A.B.’ (54<sup>v</sup>).<sup>159</sup> More extensively circulated verse follows. Copies include the verses ‘Were I a kinge I could commaunde content’ (here correctly attributed to the seventeenth Earl of Oxford), provided with more answers than any other manuscript (55<sup>r-v</sup>);<sup>160</sup> the second Earl of Essex’s poem ‘Happy were he coulde finish forth his fate’ (56<sup>r</sup>);<sup>161</sup> and an epitaph variously assigned to Philip Sidney and William Crashaw (56<sup>r</sup>);<sup>162</sup> before another two – a puritanical meditation and a satirical epigram on clergymen – which are not encountered elsewhere (56<sup>v</sup>).

A satirical tone then returns with an epigram sequence simply entitled ‘Epigrammes’ (57<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>r</sup>).<sup>163</sup> The sequence is here unattributed, but a range of external evidence (including their only other copy in Rosenbach MS 1083/15) suggests they might have been authored by the

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<sup>158</sup> They are included in Krueger and Nemser, *The Poems of Sir John Davies*. On Davies, see Sean Kelsey, ‘Davies, Sir John (*bap.* 1569, *d.* 1626)’, in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7245> (accessed February 20, 2008); not to be confused with his near contemporary, John Davies of Hereford (1564/5–1618).

<sup>159</sup> One name that these initials could stand for is Anthony Bacon, as Grosart suggested; Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, 1.93.

<sup>160</sup> See the discussion in William A Ringler, ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 352.

<sup>161</sup> In several manuscripts, this is presented with the Essex letter found on MC15, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> Found in a number of manuscripts, but printed early in William Crashaw, *The Honour of Vertue. Or the Monument Erected by the Sorowfull Husband, and the Epitaphes Annexed by Learned and Worthy Men, to the Immortall Memory of that Worthy Gentle-woman Mrs Elizabeth Crashawe Who dyed in child-birth and was buried in Whit-Chappell: Octob. 8. 1620. In the 24 yeare of her age.* (London: 1620), C5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> These will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3.

lawyer Benjamin Rudyerd (1572-1658) in the 1590s.<sup>164</sup> The folio on which they are completed, as we have discussed above, once featured a ‘Sonnet’, which has since been removed.

Following the blank verso of fol. 60, more well-known texts come into the manuscript once more, with Donne’s ‘The Anagram’, a verse epistle to T.W, ‘All haile swete Poet full of more stronge fire’, an amorous poem that is sometimes, probably erroneously, attributed to Donne, and his ‘Valediction: Forbidding Mourning’ (61<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>). Two more famous poems complement these offerings from Donne: the song from Ben Jonson’s *Epicene*, ‘Still to be neat, still to be drest’, and ‘The Lie’ by Walter Raleigh, with an answer elsewhere attributed to the second Earl of Essex (64<sup>v</sup>-68<sup>r</sup>). These are followed by a single widely circulating libel on Frances Howard, ‘From Katherins dock there lanch’t a Pinke’ (68<sup>v</sup>).<sup>165</sup>

It is somewhat surprising after a series of such well-known poems to find a long series of poetry on themes of agriculture and husbandry, recently identified by Steven May as the work of the Norfolk farmer Henry Gurney (69<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>r</sup>).<sup>166</sup> Though they once circulated in his Norfolk ‘coterie’, these are now registered nowhere beyond Gurney’s own near-impenetrable notebook.<sup>167</sup> Quite a dramatic aside from other content in the manuscript, the long selection is followed by a poem attributed to Thomas Scott,<sup>168</sup> the verse instructions sometimes attributed to King James, ‘You women that do London Loue so well’, and in what was almost certainly a later addition, a (prose) petition to King Charles from Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, on behalf of his son Lucius (1609/10–1643) in 1630 (80<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>).<sup>169</sup>

The remainder of MC15’s major mid-section of poetry is constituted of elegies and epitaphs. These start with a series of short Latin epitaphs (86<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>r</sup>), some attributed to

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<sup>164</sup> James L Sanderson, ‘Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyerd] and some more “Stolen Feathers” of Henry Parrot,’ *The Review of English Studies* 17 (1966), 241-55.

<sup>165</sup> The libel on Howard will be the subject of Chapter 6.

<sup>166</sup> May, ‘Henry Gurney,’ 183-223.

<sup>167</sup> Bodl. MS Tanner 175.

<sup>168</sup> It is not clear which Thomas Scott this refers to, since this was a relatively common name.

<sup>169</sup> For an account of the events around this petition see Kurt Weber, *Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 56-9.

Camden, Sir John Davies, Thomas More, and others; then three longer elegies in English (89<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>) by Nicholas Breton (though here attributed to Dyer), and two by Christopher Brooke on Elizabeth Crofts and Meriahs Crompton, addressed to their husbands Charles Crofts and Thomas Crompton.<sup>170</sup> As the Brooke poems are not witnessed in any other manuscripts, and were not printed until the eighteenth century, it is difficult to know what their source might be – some unknown printed book, possibly, or a very narrow manuscript tradition extending from the author. Following these serious and grave poems on the death of named individuals are some more short comic English epitaphs, many of which are attributed to John Hoskyns (96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>). After a handful more of longer elegies, by Samuel Daniel, Jonson, and Raleigh, and including the widely circulated elegy on King James ‘All that haue eyes now wake & weepe’, come two final pages of comic epitaphs (101<sup>r-v</sup>).

The precise character of the poetic transcriptions in MC15 is much more complicated than that of the prose. However, it seems as though the work of this poetry section was undertaken by the same scribes represented in hands A and D. They worked in independent stints of compilation, and it seems that other hands only intersect occasionally – such as in the short epitaphs copied by hands E (98<sup>r</sup>), F (101<sup>r</sup>), and the lyric by G (56<sup>v</sup>). A major point of confusion are the Gulling Sonnets which, although an italic hand, I suspect were copied by the same scribe as hand A.<sup>171</sup> The transcriptions of D in the central section of MC15 take place with considerable stylistic range, and with some variation from its manifestation early in the manuscript. As the poem by Hoskyns, ‘Of the losse of time’, shows (fig. 6), it generally has longer flicks to its ascenders than earlier in the manuscript. Also, it tends to use greater spaces

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<sup>170</sup> John Stow, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster: ... Written at first in the year MDXCVIII. By John Stow. ... Now lastly, corrected, improved, and very much enlarged: ... by John Strype, M.A., a native also of the said city*, 2 vols. (London: Churchill *et al* 1720), 2.65; Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Brooke, Christopher (c.1570–1628),’ in ODNB; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3538> (accessed October 20, 2010).

<sup>171</sup> For a full discussion of the reasoning, here, please see Appendix 2.



between lines than among the prose, though 'Who liues well' (fig. 7) shows a size and control more closely approximate to the prose script.<sup>172</sup>

Four blank folios follow this major section of poetry, another potential sign of blanks cast off. For a while, the manuscript returns to transcriptions of prose. Hand A, in its final contribution to the volume, transcribes the famous speech by Richard Martin celebrating King James' 1603 accession (106<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>).<sup>173</sup> Hand E returns in its first major stint since the Raleigh letter, with three important texts from the close of the parliament in 1621 – 'A declaracion of the commons house of Parliament made the fourth of June 1621', 'The peticion of the Comons house of Parliament to the King Majestie 1621', and 'The protestacion of the Parliament 1621'.<sup>174</sup> The final texts of MC15, seven metrical psalms by Francis and Christopher Davison, continue to be copied by hand E (112<sup>v</sup>-118<sup>v</sup>), showing that scribe to have been engaged with a greater diversity of copying projects than any of the other contributors.<sup>175</sup>

Although much of the content copied into MC15 is definable in terms of various trends – whether thematic (the Earl of Essex), generic (letters and epitaphs) or authorial (Hoskyns and Gurney) – one of the more striking features of the manuscript is that it brings all of these together in one forum. It is unusual to see as many writers with close connections to the Inns (Davies, Hoskyns, Rudyard, Donne, Davison) converge in one manuscript, but an institutional affiliation hardly seems to do justice to the range of interests expressed in one place.<sup>176</sup> Satirical

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<sup>172</sup> For the range of hand D's work, see also figs. 6 and 7.

<sup>173</sup> The speech circulated in manuscript in addition to an early printing as Richard Martin, *A speach deliuered, to the Kings most excellent Maiestie in the name of the sheriffes of London and Middlesex. By Maister Richard Martin of the Middle Temple* (London: Thomas Thorpe, 1603); it was printed in the same year in Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave.

<sup>174</sup> W Notestein, F. H. Relf and H Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates for 1621*, 7 vols. (1935): 5.203, 228. The conclusion to the 1621 parliament is discussed in Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 119-143 and Robert Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (London: University of California Press, 1971), 154-180.

<sup>175</sup> The Davisons' metrical psalms are discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

<sup>176</sup> MC15 has been described by Michael Rudick, as 'historical documents ... followed by a verse miscellany', as though it were a combination of volumes: Rudick, *The poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 224.

poetry, lyric and religious poetry may often be found together, but combined with texts on court politics, parliamentary politics, not to mention Gurney's agricultural poetry, this seems to be a volume whose heterogeneity is all the more interesting than a simple affiliation (such as the 'Inns of Court') provides for. The Gurney poetry introduces a geographical rejoinder, too: in the decades between the time of his writing and that of MC15's transcription, had the poems circulated as far away as London; or, was the scribe of hand D in some kind of communication with circles of manuscript transmission in and around Norfolk? Reflections of this kind surely bring a potentially greater significance to MC15's later association with texts definitively from that region, in the Farmer collection if not before.

Interpreting the surprising range of MC15's written content is in some ways complicated, and in some simplified, by the similarly surprising range of handwriting in which that content was written.<sup>177</sup> We can with no confidence puzzle over motives or intentions of such a manuscript since, so far as we can discern intention at all, it represents the connections and preferences of a number of different people. While it is impossible (at the present time, at least) to give any fuller kind of background to the relationships between the different scribes involved in the manuscript, more general attention to the handwriting can make us understand how they might have interacted with the volume itself.

Most simply, we may posit that the paper book that would eventually become MC15 was owned for the duration of its lifetime as an active repository by a single owner. That owner requested or allowed others to inscribe texts into his book, while maintaining some basic control over the contents' direction. The scribe of hand A is the most likely candidate for this position, since it makes so many contributions to the volume over the full range of its pages. Given the dating of the latest texts in the manuscript, A would have either been

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<sup>177</sup> The diversity of MC15's handwriting make it comparable with manuscripts such as Rosenbach 1083/15 or University of Texas, Austin HRC MS 79, published as Norman K Farmer, 'Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript with the Hand of Robert Herrick,' *Texas Quarterly* 16.4 (supplement) (Winter 1973).

compiling over a long period of time (from the late 1590s to the 1620s), or, have been collecting late Elizabethan and early Jacobean texts retrospectively in the 1610s and 1620s.

The more complex and potentially more interesting proposition is that the volume was initially owned and used by one person, before being transferred to a second, who was at least in part responsible for filling up the manuscript as it is now. The case for this paradigm is based on several aspects of the manuscript: the dating of hand A (which is again more likely to be the original owner), especially as compared to other hands in the manuscript; the initiatory role A plays in the manuscript's 'sections'; and the kind of copying that the other hands undertake in comparison to that of hand A.

The contributions that hand A makes to the manuscript are all demonstrably or plausibly late Elizabethan in their dating: the Essexiana and court letters at the start of the manuscript (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>); the 'Gulling Sonnets' (fols. 47<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>); the 'Epigrammes' (57<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>); the section of longer English elegies on Philip Sidney, Elizabeth Croft, and Meriahs Crompton (89<sup>r</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>); and finally, the speech of Richard Martin from March 1603 (106<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>). Many of these texts certainly circulated long after their original dates of composition – especially the Essexiana – and others are likely to have done so, but it would have been conceivable for the scribe of hand A to have completed their contribution to the manuscript as early as 1603, while leaving space for the additional content to be compiled, a possibility corroborated by the fact that three of A's transcription are preceded by significant series of blank pages (before the 'Gulling Sonnets', the English elegies, and Martin's speech).

The transcriptions of the second most extensive hand in the manuscript, hand D, nearly always follow the work of A – in three cases out of the five sets of transcriptions it made. The epigrams and lyrics copied by D follow directly after the 'Gulling Sonnets' (50<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>); the group of famous poets including Donne, Jonson and Raleigh (61<sup>r</sup>-68<sup>v</sup>), follow just one blank verse after the 'Epigrammes'; humorous English epitaphs and Latin epitaphs (97<sup>v</sup>-101<sup>v</sup>)

after epitaphs by Hoskyns. In the letters, it follows from C in a pattern set up by hand A (35<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>). Most of the texts D copies are not precisely dateable, but it does copy both of the letters by Francis Bacon to the House of Commons from 1621, and the elegy on King James (100<sup>v</sup>). It would have been impossible, then, for the scribe of hand D to have completed the contributions before the mid 1620s.

The other hands seem to cluster around A and D in potentially significant ways. Hand B, whose contribution of four letters follows directly after A (30<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>) only copies late Elizabethan texts: letters from Essex (c. 1598), from Mountjoy (1598), and between Essex and Henry Howard (1599) – materially, hand B could conceivably, then, have done its work before 1600. In contrast to the Elizabethan work of hands A and B, hand C's work creeps subtly forward, with the 1608 letter from Raleigh to Carr (35<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>) and the 1603 letter from Raleigh to King James (41<sup>r-v</sup>). As these two letters are tightly interspersed with those from hand D (35<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>), it is possible that the two were working in some kind of collaboration. Hand E, whose contributions both at the beginning and the end of the manuscript appear to be the very last additions made, was working later: the first text it copies may be from 1603 (41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>), but the parliamentary papers it copies are from the 1620s.

A more complicated narrative of the manuscript's production is, then, as follows. MC15 (as a blank book) was first owned by the scribe of hand A, in the first few years of the seventeenth century. That owner, having transcribed a substantial body of prose and verse at several points in the manuscripts – allowing for future additions in these areas – asked (perhaps paid) hand B to copy texts into the volume. The book was then set aside for a number of years, possibly even a decade or more. At some point in the 1610s or 1620s, the scribe of hand D picked up the semi-completed manuscript and, satisfied with the sections that had already been established, continued to copy his or her own texts in. The scribes of hands C and E were again requested to insert their copies into the book, as well as hand G.

When these had finished, at some point in the 1620s, the manuscript was largely in the condition it is in now. The last active service that MC15 was subsequent to these activities, though, when the ‘boyish’ hand F (to employ Grosart’s term) used some of the remaining blank space to copy Henry Carey’s petitionary letter and a very mediocre and otherwise unrecorded epigram on Thomas Lancaster and Susan Sporke (‘He is heauy as leade, and she as light as corke’).<sup>178</sup>

The impression that we ought to take from this more complicated model is not that MC15 was in any sense a ‘coterie’ manuscript, but that it went through different phases of production at the hands of people who had potentially little connection to one another. It was not a ‘finished’ object until after it was more or less full; instead, it was a living archive in which many people could be involved, to some extent independently of former owners. Knowing exactly which model is more ‘true’ is, perhaps, besides the point. The fact is, that one of the most engaging aspects of MC15 – and one that has been almost entirely neglected<sup>179</sup> – is one that registers primarily on a physical, bibliographical level. While it is surprisingly difficult to use these results in collaboration with any of the previous minimal discourse on MC15, it is possible to continue to pursue the implications of ways in which texts were copied and collected into MC15 and in early modern manuscripts more generally.

The method of object study proposed in the previous chapter offers us a means of doing just this. By being focussed on the differences in multiple copies of relatively short individual texts, we can focus and condense a wide range of comparators around close examples. While this does often by-pass the consideration of complete volumes of poetry (like MC15), it provides opportunities to delve deeper into the overarching currents of the

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<sup>178</sup> MC15, 101r; Grosart, ed., *The Dr Farmer Chetham MS*, 2.156.

<sup>179</sup> This is true of manuscript collections more generally: Eckhardt and Marotti both emphasise the importance of materiality (Eckhardt going so far as to compile an extensive appendix of bibliographic descriptions of manuscripts) but neither demonstrate why it should be thought so. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 25-30 and Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 207-280. However, see also Victoria E. Burke, ‘Let’s Get Physical: Bibliography, Codicology, and Seventeenth-Century Women’s Manuscripts,’ *Literature Compass* 4/6 (2007), 1667-82.

collecting practices conducted in the context of a book (as we will see in the following chapter). The processes of copying and collecting, and their role in the dissemination of manuscripts, may not be the only ways of using and interpreting early modern manuscripts, but they are required stages if we are to understand the source material at all.

In this chapter, the thesis' key concepts of copying, dissemination and collecting have been approached via the books and archives in which processes of collection took place. But these broad sweeps over complicated manuscripts do not do full justice to the nuances and intricacies that surround every single act of copying that took place in those collections. From the template that this chapter has established, the following chapters will fill in some of those details, and, through reference to other manuscripts, work to understand the peculiarity and significance of those acts. The studies of short poems (epigrams and libels) in the following two chapters place a special emphasis on describing and qualifying the different types of copying that can contribute to larger collections. Chapter 5, on letters, is able to explore a wider range of evidence to suggest why amateur early modern copyists would produce collections of letters, and what they would have got out of it. The final chapter, on psalms, returns to questions of the value of texts undergoing dissemination in manuscripts, and the qualifications that might be applied to different forms of copying. In spite of the definitional role that MC15 plays in the structuring of this thesis, it ultimately falls into the background for the remaining major chapters. Although always an important point of reference, there is no reason to suppose that the forms of copying and collection it manifests have a privilege above any others. Nonetheless, in the conclusion we will turn to MC15 once more to consider how the intervening studies can inform understanding of this single manuscript book.

### Chapter 3: Copying epigrams in verse manuscripts

This chapter will explore issues that are central to the thesis' interests in copying, dissemination and collection. With close reference to epigrams and related short texts, it will attempt to distinguish between the different modes in which texts could be copied into collections of verse, and especially between the two modes that will be described as 'seriatim' and 'ad hoc' copying. Since these are matters that any historical reading or interpretation of epigrammatic texts from manuscripts depends on, this chapter will also suggest ways in which those modes might be significant for our understanding of the kind of activity that 'collecting' is.

While classical traditions and standards of writing pervade the form of the epigram and its rise to popularity in the late sixteenth century, the feature of the form for which it is best remembered is its very short length. Longer poems were described as epigrams, both in antiquity and the early modern period; but by focussing this chapter primarily on the length, the epigram becomes especially useful for the purposes of studying copying in manuscripts. As such, 'epigram' is used in a deliberately loose sense here, inclusive of the revived classical form, alongside epitaphs, jests, and other very short verses. Whereas longer lyric poems, letters and many other forms of prose can take a significant investment of a copyist's time and effort, epigrams can be copied with a comparatively minor commitment of labour. The distinctions

between the ways epigrams could be copied, both individually and collectively, are thus more immediately visible than in other kinds of writing.

There are potentially many epigrammatic sources we could use to tackle the issues at stake here; however, this chapter will focus on the transcription of a sequence of epigrams in its only two witnesses, MC15 and Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation MS 1083/15 (PRF15). PRF15, like MC15, is a rich resource for issues palaeographic and literary, which this chapter will be able to explore in some detail, given the limited quantity of surviving copies of the epigram sequence these two manuscripts preserve. Additionally, the opaque and complicated relationship between the two witnesses enables us to consider the impact that forms of copying had on the wider dissemination of the texts. As an ‘object study’ this might appear to be somewhat limited, but the outcomes of the chapter pave the way for interpretations of a greater range of material evidence in the subsequent chapters. The following chapter, on libels, will build in particular on the analysis of modes of copying presented here. Nonetheless, the study in the current chapter still enables us to understand better the varieties of the life of a text as it circulated in manuscript, whether or not our evidence for that circulation stretches out to any great length.

The two techniques of copying that are especially important for this study should be seen to stand, in certain respects, in opposition to one another. The first mode is the copying of a number of texts *seriatim*,<sup>1</sup> in one continuous scribal stint, as if they were derived from an immediate copy text. While whole volumes of verse and of prose were produced in this way,<sup>2</sup> the technique features in verse collections in a range of lengths, used by the identifiable owner of the book; one of their associates; or an unrelated professional scribe. Identifying a *seriatim* stint in a mixed collection is not always easy: however, clues can often be given by conformity

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<sup>1</sup> The term is not included within Beal, *English Manuscript Terminology*, but is used relatively freely in Gibson, ‘Casting off Blanks,’ 212-3.

<sup>2</sup> As exemplified by Beinecke, Osborn b 197, Folger MS v.a.103 and Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 160.



of style, presentation, script and ink over a particular series. A *seriatim* stint by a hand that does not do so much work in a manuscript may often be more distinctive (as we will see below).

The second style of copying is more ad hoc: texts are copied as and when they become available, or as they are discovered by the compiler. It is not dissimilar to the taking of notes in a volume of commonplaces. An ad hoc input can again come from primary owner of the manuscript or their associates, but the highly transitory nature of the form may have encouraged contributions from copyists rather less committed to the overall processes in the manuscript. Identifying ad hoc copying may not always be any easier than for *seriatim*, but the opposite criteria can be usefully applied to distinguish the mode: stylistically fragmentary poems collected together, or sudden changes in the script, ink, and presentation. Of course, an ad hoc copy might have been quite obviously in a margin, flyleaf, or blank space, making the mode all the easier to identify.

In the case of epigrams, and poetic texts more generally, these two modes suggest potentially divergent forms of engagement with the texts that scribes copy. From what remains of the act of ad hoc copying, it often seems to indicate a momentarily active engagement with the text (or occasionally, texts). It seems particularly at home with the epigram, whose production could similarly be reduced to a passing impulse.<sup>3</sup> Although ad hoc copying requires relatively little investment of labour or time, it may also often indicate a kind of inspiration, urgency, or decisiveness, produced over a very swift – but very interested – moment, a characteristic lost in other forms of copying. By contrast, *seriatim* copying is necessarily more considered, taking the time to work through the transcription of potentially extensive set of poems. Given that a series of decisions and choices need to have been made *prior* to the act of copying itself, it also seems reasonable to suggest that in spite of the

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<sup>3</sup> In his paper on “The Other Manuscript Verse: Rare or Unique Poems in 16th and 17th Century Manuscript Collections” at the conference ‘English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700’, 29th July 2011, Arthur Marotti listed nine unique epigrams from verse miscellanies. These could potentially have been composed and copied in the same heady moment.

increased effort that it requires, the act of copying *seriatim* actually represents a more passive engagement with the texts that it copies. For the most part, it comes *after* decisions have been made, or disregards decision-making at all; such decisions may be the domain of the copyist, but the copyist may simply replicate those lying behind their copy-text. The task itself may be by necessity more laborious, but it is liable to be less immediately cognizant of the texts involved.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter will introduce these modes of copying epigrams as a pursuit with shades of engagement ranging from the indifferent and passive to the extremely attentive. Moreover, the attempt to understand and interpret this dimension of epigrams' copying allows us to register important information about their reception which to date has not been adequately discussed. For instance, in James Doelman's discussion of the circulation of epigrams, copying by hand is only one form of circulation: quite reasonably for such a survey, the intricacies of the modes of their copying are not probed into. From the basis of the two forms of copying, this chapter will address this elision, and seek not only to provide examples where these copying styles are very much distinct, but also how they combine to influence the transformation of sequences (and most importantly the variations in the epigram sequence between MC15 and PRF15). Two short poems copied at the same time might still be better thought of as an ad hoc stint (such as the John Harington epigrams copied in MC15); while a stint that includes epigrams from diverse sources might also be better considered as representing an ad hoc reading practice, even if they cannot be determinately distinguished as such (as in the John Heywood epigrams of PRF15). Stints that were demonstrably *seriatim*, and have the appearance of organized wholes, may also have been the result of layers of re-arranging and repositioning ad hoc copying into a more concrete form.

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<sup>4</sup> Although 'active' and 'passive' are often construed as value judgements, their use here is intended to be primarily neutral; nonetheless, the following chapter will try to demonstrate how important the passive reception of texts could be. For the positive value that can lie in passivity, see Scott Paul Gordon, *The Power of the Passive Self in English Literature, 1640-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 214.

While the object study of the corresponding epigram sequences from MC15 and PRF15 is of central importance to this chapter, it will necessarily only appear as the culmination of more general discussion of the critical reception of epigrams, and their copying in manuscripts. We will start by discussing some prevalent trends and emphases in studies of epigrams in more detail: epigram criticism has had a significant intentionalist emphasis of late, with the work of the modern critic being to unlock authorial ciphers. With its emphasis on reception and copying, the evidence presented in this chapter will join with critics such as Randall Ingram in promoting the discontinuous and fragmentary reading practices that are implicit in early modern texts. The discussion of primary material will then begin with a broad outline of the modes of transcription through which epigrams in MC15 and PRF are copied, leading to a more detailed discussion of the reading and copying of epigrams by John Heywood and John Owen. In both manuscripts, the methods of transcription are varied, and individual scribes may be readily associated with both *seriatim* and ad hoc forms of copying. Our object study in the ‘Epigrammes’ will then be presented. In that, we see how even the most authoritative and integrated *seriatim* modes of copying could readily encompass a history of far more fragmentary practices. Finally we will discuss the implications of these forms of copying across other forms of literary and critical sources, and in particular a single epigram on ‘Mathon’ from the sequence under discussion.

The miscellaneous evidence for the copying of epigrams presented in this chapter continues to build on the material account of MC15 of the previous chapter, in showing us how copying, collecting and dissemination are accessible and informative ways of understanding the reception of texts in manuscripts. These activities may emerge here as contestable and polyvalent in their meanings across different books; but with attention to the minutiae of detail, an informed case can be made for the significance of any given manuscript text.

Given that the basic aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the difference between different forms of copying, epigrams make a particularly effective starting point for a number of reasons.<sup>5</sup> Their modest length makes the study of their copying more immediately accessible than that of longer forms; and, as hinted above, the issues can be a little more vital than in the longer forms that we will go on to consider. Also, traditions of epigram writing are often closely involved with issues in authorship and reception. Martial, the most persistently influential model for Renaissance epigrammists, was consistently concerned with the fate of his little books, as he was with the response to individual texts.<sup>6</sup> Such concerns certainly found a place amongst early modern epigrams; furthermore, the material conditions of their production and distribution were palpably of interest to the literary critic George Puttenham. The brevity of epigrams made them apt to be produced in a variety of circumstances, as is acknowledged in his well-known definition of the form:

This epigram is but an inscription or writing made as it were upon a table, or a window, or upon the wall or mantel of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed every man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our taverns and common tabling houses, where merry heads meet and scribble with ink, with chalk, or with a coal such matters as they would every man should know and descant upon. Afterward, the same came to be put on paper and in books[.]<sup>7</sup>

Although the Martialian epigram in its proper form may be defined outside of a material form in terms of its content and style, an epigram for Puttenham is defined almost solely in terms of its communal authorship and transcription. The composition and consumption of epigrams

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<sup>5</sup> Compare the remarks of Randall Ingram, 'Lego Ego: Reading Seventeenth-century Books of Epigrams,' *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 160-161.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion, see for example William Fitzgerald, *Martial: The World of the Epigram* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 73-77 on 'Poet and Audience'.

<sup>7</sup> Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn, eds., *The Art of English Poesy by George Puttenham: A Critical Edition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 142.

are a communal affair, an organic situation improperly continued by their transcription 'on paper and in books'.

Of course, early modern epigrams proliferated in many more standard forms than places of 'common resort'. As James Doelman's database index quite resolutely shows, an enormous number of books of epigrams were printed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Manuscript collections rarely equal the extent or authorial organization of printed collections, with some exceptions: John Harington (1561-1612) produced a very elegant scribal volume of his epigrams for presentation to King James,<sup>9</sup> and volumes can be found that are more or less entirely dedicated to the preservation of epigrams and short poems. One tatty folio booklet from the 1690s, for example, preserves a historically diverse range of epitaphs.<sup>10</sup> As with the manuscript circulation of sonnets and psalms, epigrams tended mostly to be copied in more manageable batches, and it is not unusual for collections to 'cast off blanks' to create a particular space solely for their transcription.<sup>11</sup> These material aspects of epigrams, and the particular issues they raise when produced in manuscript and print, have produced some interested commentary from a number of critics.<sup>12</sup> However, most of the primary critical interest in the epigram has been derived from its status as an important Renaissance literary form.<sup>13</sup> Major work has commented on the influence of Martial on epigrams, their intellectual and humanistic background, and the intricacies of their form.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> James Doelman 'Database Index of English Epigrams, 1590 to 1640', <https://rabbit.vml.its.uwo.ca/Epigrams/default.aspx>, with the 'List of Sources', at [http://www.brescia.uwo.ca/about/our\\_people/our\\_faculty/arts\\_humanities/Sources%20list%20new%20\\_2\\_.pdf](http://www.brescia.uwo.ca/about/our_people/our_faculty/arts_humanities/Sources%20list%20new%20_2_.pdf). (Accessed 10th September 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Folger MS V.a.149, which is the basis for Gerard Kilroy, ed., *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Beinecke Osborn MS fb 143.

<sup>11</sup> See Beinecke Osborn b 200, pp. 407-413, and Beinecke Osborn b 356, pp. 299-304.

<sup>12</sup> Franklin B. Williams, 'Henry Parrot's Stolen Feathers,' *PMLA* 42 (1937), 1019-30; Franklin B. Williams, 'The Epigrams of Henry Parrot,' *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 20 (1938), 18-19; Philip G. Smith, 'Notes on Elizabethan and Jacobean Epigrams,' *Faculty Papers of Union College* 2.1 (Jan 1931), 66-69; Ingram, 'Reading Books of Epigrams,' 160-176; James Doelman, 'Circulation of the Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart Epigram,' *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 29.1 (Winter 2005), 59-73.

<sup>13</sup> For the epigram as the characteristic Renaissance form, see Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 67-75; Fowler's strong position is stated in Alastair Fowler, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth-Century Verse* (Oxford:

Such studies have been produced within a traditionally literary critical text-based frame of reference, but they have led to another range of work which reflects critically on practices of authorship and the experience of readers, especially as they relate to larger collections of authorial epigrams. Early twentieth-century readers of epigram collections were often fairly derisive about the lack of coherence expressed in authorial collections: Herford and Simpson, for example, described Jonson's *Epigrammes* as a 'quite unmanageable wilderness of verse-kinds'.<sup>15</sup> Yet a rash of subsequent studies have argued otherwise, maintaining that these heterogeneous collections possess internal structures and organization that crucially indicate an acute authorial plan. Jean McMahon Humez's influential (though unpublished) PhD thesis examined the epigrams of Martial, Harington, and Jonson within such a framework; later, Edward Partridge endeavoured another rigorous exegesis of the patterns in the first book of Jonson's *Epigrammes* with the same mindset.<sup>16</sup> For all their emphasis on patterns and organization, the claims that these critics made for their chosen authors were often tentative instead of prescriptive. Humez, for example, wrote of Martial book's that the 'structure is never so highly determined that the displacement of two or three epigrams would radically alter our sense of the book.'<sup>17</sup>

More recent work in this vein has tended to be more confident in its claims, as studies of Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* and John Donne's manuscript epigrams show us. Ann Baynes Coiro discovers in the apparently diffuse *Hesperides* a work of 'integrity', to be read 'in

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Oxford University Press, 2008 [2001]), xxxix, and see also the many remarks on epigrams in Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

<sup>14</sup> Thomas King Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1925), Hoyt H Hudson, *The Epigram in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947); Barbara Smith, *Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 197-210.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted as one of many examples of similar sentiment in Edward Partridge, 'Jonson's *Epigrammes*: The Named and the Nameless,' *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 6.1 (April 1973), 153.

<sup>16</sup> Jean McMahon Humez, 'The Manners of Epigram: A study of the Epigram Volumes of Martial, Harington, and Jonson,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1971; Partridge, 'The Named and the Nameless,' 153-98.

<sup>17</sup> Humez, 'The Manners of Epigram: A study of the Epigram Volumes of Martial, Harington, and Jonson,' 58.

sequence', as a 'whole', 'one polished, self-presented and self-presenting volume'.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, Theresa DiPasquale makes much of the stages of authorial revision uncovered amidst the Donne *Variorum* project, and claims that the coterie poet's 'consciously organized collections' can now be read 'in the same way that Donne's late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century readers did'.<sup>19</sup> In both cases, the claim is not just that the author was critically conscious of the implications of their own work, but that early readers would have easily recognised the features of authorial design that are now (mostly) obscure to us. Recovering a sense of the organization in those collections is, then, not represented simply as a critical achievement, but as an historical one too, recovering a layer of historical signification that has since been lost.

Nonetheless, these intentionalist studies infer that the best reading of epigrams is one in which the workings of an authorial intelligence is discovered within the disarray of epigram texts. As such they implicitly suggest that the study of epigrams can be connected to what has been called the emergent 'bibliographic ego'<sup>20</sup> which was (in a sense) an invention of the early modern period: '[a] new and distinctively modern idea of the author', whose origins are usually traced to Ben Jonson.<sup>21</sup> As we turn away from authors, and into the manuscripts that constitute the basis of this chapter, matters of ego, authority, and the responses of readers will all remain necessary points of reference. However, working more closely with manuscripts shows how these issues can be more ambiguous, contradictory and indeterminate than many of the foregoing studies allow. While copyists often seem to entertain the idea of an authoritative copy text – one demanding respect, whether or not that text is authorial – they often seem as willing to adapt and alter the arrangement of texts that came to them. This is by no means a new argument: Arthur Marotti has described this as a spirit of 'social textuality', a time in which 'texts were inherently malleable, escaping authorial control to enter a social

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<sup>18</sup> Ann Baynes Coiro, *Robert Herrick's Hesperides and the Epigram Book Tradition* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 118, 29, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Theresa DiPasquale, 'Donne's *Epigrams*: A Sequential Reading,' *Modern Philology* 104.3 (2007), 332.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Loewenstein, 'The Script in the Marketplace,' *Representations* 12 (1985), 101.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Butler, 'Jonson's Folio and the Politics of Patronage,' *Criticism* 35 (1993), 377.

world in which recipients both consciously and unconsciously altered what they received.’<sup>22</sup> In its small way, the study of *seriatim* and ‘ad hoc’ copying contributes to our sense of how this process worked, with special attention to the arrangement and organization of texts in sequences (instead of textual variations in individual poems). When we stumble across something resembling a ‘bibliographical ego’ in these manuscripts, its construction from many other hands can be revealed. Copyists in no way replace authors, but, as we will see in all of the following, they had their own important part to play in the production of the very texts that were then made available for reading.

*Epigrams in MC15 and PRF15*

This chapters’ first engagement with manuscripts – a close study of the scribal work manifest in MC15 and PRF15 – will provide examples of the methods of transcribing epigrams. The task has some resemblance to the account of MC15’s hands produced in the preceding chapter; and we will see again how responsibility for both manuscripts’ content was spread out over a number of hands, and produced at different points in time. But by discussing aspects of the styles of which these stints were undertaken, this summary additionally recognises how the same hands could be at home with long *seriatim* stints as well as more ad hoc modes of copying. Although more minor contributors to manuscripts of verse may engage in the task of copying in just one mode – especially likely amidst ad hoc copies – more extensive engagements with epigrams results in more varied tactics. The *seriatim* stint, at times, we will suppose to issue forth as an authoritative text to a passive audience. More detail on these matters will be given in due course.

As described in Chapter 2, hand A appears to do the most extensive work in MC15. In their volume, epigrams are a relatively minor part of A’s work. When epigrams are copied in

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<sup>22</sup> Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 135.



hand A, they are most typically transcribed in a *seriatim* stint, such as in twelve English epitaphs attributed to John Hoskyns (96<sup>r</sup>) and even more so in a sequence entitled 'Epigrammes' (57<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>, on which more below). A more interesting variety of modes of copying are undertaken by hand D, and they are characterised by its very first transcriptions, written on the recto which follows immediately after the last of the 'Gulling Sonnets'. There, D has copied three medium-length epigrams on the following verso (that is, 50<sup>v</sup>, fig. 8). The first and last are by John Harington, and while both are titled, only the latter includes an authorial attribution. Between them is the bawdy epigram 'We maddames that fucus vse', which in another manuscript is attributed to Francis Davison.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps owing to its incongruously suggestive play on 'fucus', which in the course of the poem can be read as make up or a sexual invitation, the text has been deemed unacceptable and a strong attempt at its erasure has been made.<sup>24</sup>

It seems most likely that the two Harington epigrams were copied in first. Whether the transcription of 'We maddames' was an immediate afterthought of the Harington poems, or, a more distant use of left-over blank paper, it has the appearance of being done later. Removing 'We maddames' from view, the Harington epigrams appear very well spaced, consuming a generous allowance of half a page each in a neatly symmetrical and balanced mis-en-page. The untitled and squashed 'We maddames' is out of keeping with the care in which the Harington poems have been treated; however much the style of hand and inking are similar, the inconsistencies in presentation and authorship seem to indicate that these poems do not represent, collectively, a short *seriatim* stint, but two more piecemeal stints.

Hand D shows itself to have been perfectly willing to make such contributions, throughout the manuscript. In the space left at the bottom of the page after hand G's

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<sup>23</sup> Bodl. MS Tanner 169, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>. Its only other known witness is in Philadelphia, Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> In MC15, the same was done to the two lines at the end of Donne's elegy 'The Anagram' concerned with dildos (fol. 62<sup>r</sup>); an epigram 'In Frisiam', the point of which is a pun on riding a jade (MC15, 58<sup>r</sup>); and 'Chaucers Iest' (fol. 75<sup>r</sup>), which we will discuss further, below.

contribution of the poem (its only one to the manuscript) 'Weary of sinn, but not of sinninge', hand D copies the epigram 'In elder times it was observed, that' (56<sup>v</sup>); then, following a number of Latin epitaphs copied in D\*, D returns to copy the Latin 'An epitaph on a preacher' (88<sup>r</sup>), some longer poems, then, in a markedly different style, a libellous couplet on 'An Epitaph Vpon my Lo: of Northampton' (101<sup>r</sup>).<sup>25</sup> Its transcription of the libel 'From Katherins dock there lanch't a Pinke' (68<sup>v</sup>), although allowed its own page, has this same character of slightly cavalier and ad hoc use of space. Some of the more liminal contributors to the manuscript include epigrams in their ad hoc repertoire.

This ad hoc style of copying in MC15 is not limited to hand D. Hand F, the odd 'boyish' hand whose main (late) contribution is the letter from the 1620s (at 82<sup>r</sup>-83<sup>v</sup>), inserts the oddly inept epitaph 'Here lyes Tom: Lancaster and Susan Sporke / He as heauy as leade, and she as light as corke' (101<sup>r</sup>) in a gap left at the bottom of a page by hand D. Hand E, who follows other hands in writing letters at the start of the manuscript, and parliamentary papers and psalms at the end, finds the time to put in two brief English epitaphs (98<sup>r</sup>).

However, Hand D's copying of the Harington epigrams was not merely ad hoc, but gestured towards a willingness to copy texts at some greater length. And indeed, it is one of the several hands that throughout the manuscript make contributions of texts within more extensive scribal stints. It is responsible for the copying of the very long selection of varied poetry by Henry Gurney – which includes many short verses that are proverbial, if not epigrammatic in style – in what looks quite definitely like one long, elegant and careful transcriptional stint (69<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>r</sup>). Other major contributors to the manuscript also make substantial *seriatim* copies, such as the fifteen Latin epitaphs undertaken by hand D\* (86<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>r</sup>).

None of these hands involved in the manuscript are interested exclusively in epigrams. Yet all of the hands that copy verse include epigrams as one of the forms that they are

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<sup>25</sup> Hand D\* is a variant of hand D.

prepared to copy. These do not lead to series of pages devoted to the ongoing, ad hoc, compilation of epigrams, as some manuscripts do.<sup>26</sup> Yet the proclivity of the stalwart contributors to demonstrate in various degrees the ‘active’ ad hoc contributions and the arguably more ‘passive’ *seriatim* stints demonstrates the kind of flexibility that epigrams could encourage and involve.

Epigrams feature in PRF15 more extensively than they do in MC15 and, indeed, than in many verse manuscripts. They are not the only poetic form that PRF15 copies, but they are the form that is most consistently returned to. The hands that transcribe the volume’s epigrams do so in a range of modes that are at least as varied as those in MC15; and in some cases the work undertaken therein gives particularly good examples of how these different modes could work.

PRF15 has some important connections to MC15, most particularly in the sequence of epigrams that is only witnessed in these two manuscripts. As noted in Chapter 2, they are often cited together as examples of ‘Inns of Court’ manuscripts. Be that as it may, the early provenance of PRF15 has not been fully established, nor is it likely to be. Neither the compilers nor any early owners of PRF15 have been traced, though as a bookplate shows, it was part of William Horatio Crawford’s ‘Lakeland Library’ (in County Cork) in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Some evidence suggests that it might have been owned by John Payne Collier (1789–1883), but its only certain recent owner has been the notable collector A.S.W. Rosenbach (1876–1952), who had it in his possession by 1930.<sup>28</sup> In his activities as a professional book dealer, Rosenbach seemed happy to occasionally over-price books that came into his

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<sup>26</sup> An approach exemplified, for example, by Beinecke Osborn b 200, as cited above.

<sup>27</sup> Sanderson, ‘Manuscript Collection of Poems,’ lxxv. On Crawford, see DeRicci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1930), 164–5; William Horatio Crawford, *The Lakeland Library. Catalogue of the Rare & Valuable Books, Manuscripts & Engravings of the late W.H. Crawford* (London: Sotheby’s, 1891), and *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1895).

<sup>28</sup> Sanderson, ‘Manuscript Collection of Poems,’ lxxiv–lxxviii. Could the manuscript have been acquired by Rosenbach during his book buying trip to Ireland? Edwin Wolf, *Rosenbach: A Biography* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), 291–95.

possession that were of peculiar (though not necessarily scholarly or intellectual) interest to him; when they did not sell he could keep them amongst his own collection.<sup>29</sup> Thus PRF15 is now one of several very interesting verse miscellanies held at the Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia, amidst a varied collection that extends from medieval manuscripts, to a holograph of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, to the fullest archive of the papers of Marianne Moore (1887-1972).

In the 1950s and 60s, the editor and literary historian M.A. Shaaber oversaw three PhD projects on the editing of the early modern verse collections at the Rosenbach library.<sup>30</sup> The editing of PRF15 was undertaken by James L Sanderson, who went to write several articles on out-of-the-way manuscript poetry.<sup>31</sup> Besides Sanderson's thesis, PRF15 has received only very limited specific scholarly attention, though in addition to its often cited relationship to the Inns, it often receives some attention in studies of manuscript poetry.<sup>32</sup> Although scholars have engaged with its handwriting, it is not a topic that has received the sustained attention that complexity of the topic deserves.

PRF15 was produced in two phases, making its dating likely to have been split between the late sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>33</sup> The division is marked by a marked and significant change in the prevailing hands being used: the first and larger part is predominantly compiled in hand A (pp. 1-140), while the latter is in

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<sup>29</sup> For this information I am grateful to Elizabeth Fuller. This was not necessarily a common occurrence; Rosenbach was important in forming the collections of manuscripts at the Folger and Huntington libraries. See for example 'English Poetry to 1700,' *The Collected Catalogues of A.S.W. Rosenbach*, 10 vols., (New York: Arno Press, 1967), vol. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Howard Hoover Thompson, 'An Edition of Two Seventeenth-century Manuscript Poetical Miscellanies,' Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1959 (including MSS 239/23 (formerly MS 188) and the former MS 191; and David Coleman Redding, 'Robert Bishop's Commonplace Book: An Edition of a Seventeenth-Century Miscellany,' Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1960 (of Rosenbach MS 1083/16).

<sup>31</sup> Sanderson, 'Manuscript Collection of Poems'. For praise see May, 'Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors,' 216.

<sup>32</sup> The verse in the Rosenbach manuscripts is the basis for the discussion of erotic poetry in Ian Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 44-54; and it receives some discussion in Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 23-27.

<sup>33</sup> As Sanderson writes, '[t]here is no clear indication in the MS. of the years during which this compilation of poems was made; likewise, none of the entries is dated.' Sanderson, 'Manuscript Collection of Poems,' lxvii. For a table of the contents and the hands of PRF15, see Appendix 4.

hand D (pp. 140-180). Although both parts have their interest, it is only in the first that epigrams receive the particularly strong showing that makes the manuscript so relevant to this chapter. The hands involved are more varied than just these two, and even with this opening section, the variety of handwriting again make it a stimulating source: within the range of pages that are most properly the domain of hand A, at least another four hands contribute – those which I have labelled hands B (p. 28) C (p. 44, 56, 75), and E [pp. 116 – 120], in addition to early appearances of hand D (p. 81, 89).<sup>34</sup>

Most of the epigrams were copied by hand A, which can often be found to compiling them in an ad hoc fashion.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, an important element of PRF15/A's work is its willingness – unlike MC15 and its compilers – to produce aggregations of texts at specific points, not copied *seriatim* but undertaken over some period of time. For example, as many as three different stints of ink inscribe a series of texts by Thomas Bastard and others (pp. 24-25, fig. 9). Not only does the style of handwriting change subtly, but so do the stints of ink: this makes it clear that, to some extent, the copying was undertaken in swift and broken batches.<sup>36</sup> On some occasions the compilation appears to be done on an ad hoc basis, but the poems are copied in such a way that their style of copying is not clear. Preceding the assortment just described, an epigram from Thomas Bastard's *Chrestoleros* ('James thou hast brought from forraine landes', p.23; *Chrestoleros* VII.18) is followed by the 'Epitaph vpon a bellowes maker // Here lies Iohn Goddard maker of bellowes' and a satire on Jonson 'Put of thy Buskins Sophocles the great', both attributed to Hoskyns in MC15, and then a longer poem on gloves and rings. A longer poem on a ring is then presented, before a return to Bastard with his epitaph on Walsingham and Sidney, 'Sir ffrauncis & sir Phillipp haue no tombe' (Bastard,

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<sup>34</sup> It is a mistake to see only three hands at work in the manuscript: see Sanderson, 'Manuscript Collection of Poems,' lx, and Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 268. Whenever there is a risk of confusion over which hand in which manuscript is being referred to, I will use the sigla PRF15/A, MC15/B, MC15/C as appropriate.

<sup>35</sup> Since the epigrams in PRF15 are so extensive, the following is a selective survey of some relevant issues rather than a comprehensive account.

<sup>36</sup> There are, of course, other reasons for an alteration in the style of ink being used: they may mark the point at which one batch of ink ran out, for example.

*Chrestoleros* 4.31). These certainly seem various, but the exact mode of their copying is not clear. In the majority of cases where hands other than A contribute, it is as part of swift space-filling copying: hand B transcribes a couplet – ‘A noe so courteous *that* it seemd to craue / the very thing *which* it denying gaue’ – in space left by hand A (p. 26); and Hand E\* uses a margin left by A to copy in a Latin epigram by John Owen (p. 89).

A often undertakes to copy of a number of epigrams in what is quite clearly a *seriatim* stint. Several of these stints are organized authorially, somewhat unusually for this kind of collection. A is responsible, for example, for a series of epigrams by John Davies that circulated in both print and manuscript (pp. 4-17), and the epigrams attributed to ‘B.R.’ (pp. 44-50). Hand E’s sole intervention in the manuscript is a *seriatim* selection of epigrams by the Latin epigramist John Owen (pp. 116-120). This is unusual, since minor hands tend to copy far less extensive material. A’s ostensibly *seriatim*, as with its ad hoc stints, may often be potentially attributed to either mode. The epigrams it copies from John Heywood at several points in the manuscript fall into this category (on which, more below).

Overall, these two manuscripts show how epigrams were well fitted for quick compilation at the bottom of the page by any passing scribe that happened to be prepared to copy a text into a manuscript. While the same ad hoc, to the moment, technique of copying was used by major contributors to the manuscripts, MC15/D and PRF15/A both show that they were willing to take epigrams more seriously by copying material *seriatim*. By quantity alone, PRF15/A emerges as the more substantially interested in epigrams; while the varied engagements made by MC15/D shows how different situations could readily arise which appeared to demand different forms of copying.

These examples of material practices of copying and collecting need comparison with some more closely worked examples if we are to understand better the significances they hold for the reception of texts. So far we have been content with a somewhat cursory notion of

what it means to be copying ‘*seriatim*’ and ‘ad hoc’, and what the implications of these two modes are. As always in this kind of work, there is no smoking gun of explanation, offering reasons and implications for the phenomena we have observed. Nothing like that has reached the archives, nor has less telling data that may yet have given us answers: for example, the direct sources for the copied manuscripts are almost always unknown, and what a copyist did with their sources is similarly obscure.

Yet two examples from PRF15 give us the opportunity to think through different modes of transcription in a fairly close and precise way. First, the case of John Heywood’s epigrams, very popular in early modern printed editions but mostly unknown in manuscript circulation, which can tell us something about ad hoc transcription, especially aided by reference to an annotated copy of John Heywood’s *Woorkees*. Additionally, the copying of epigrams by John Owen in PRF15 gives us an opportunity to think more about how *seriatim* copying could work in the context of a collection made by multiple scribes.

#### *Heywood and Owen in PRF15*

John Heywood (1496/7 – 1578 or after) was among the best-known writers of the later sixteenth century, especially popular for his contemporary renderings of homely and proverbial epigrams. As Burton Milligan records, his *Woorkees* received more printings up to 1600 than Richard Tottell’s *Songs and Sonnets*.<sup>37</sup> Heywood’s epigrams were first printed in ‘hundreds’, with *An hundred epigrammes* appearing in 1550, *Two hundred epigrams, vpon two hundred prouerbes with a thynde newly added* in 1555, and *A fourth hundred of epygrams* in 1560.<sup>38</sup> None of these books included previously printed epigrams, but all five ‘hundreds’ were gathered

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<sup>37</sup> Burton A Milligan, *John Heywood: Works, and Miscellaneous Short Poems* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

<sup>38</sup> These are STC 13294.5, 13296, and 13297 respectively.

together with a new sixth hundred in *Iohn Heywoodes Woorkes* of 1566, with later editions appearing in 1577, 1587 and 1598.<sup>39</sup>

Most likely owing to these very frequent appearances in print in the second half of the sixteenth century, Heywood's epigrams are rarely included in manuscript collections of verse.<sup>40</sup> PRF15 is a rare manuscript that contains poems by Heywood, where they are copied by hand A – the scribe of which was likely to be the main owner and reader of the book. The Heywood epigrams are mostly copied in two particularly extensive sections. The first has twenty epigrams: eight from between the 35th and the 83rd of the first *Hundred*, and the 12th to the 87th of the fifth hundred.<sup>41</sup> The second major section copies twelve, two from the first *Hundred* and ten from the third. Those from the third book are not reproduced in order, and are further supplemented by a translation from Catullus.<sup>42</sup> Separate from these two larger sections, PRF15 finally includes another two Heywood epigrams reproduced in isolation from any others. Both are copied on pages full of epigrams copied by hand A, mostly done in what look like ad hoc stints.<sup>43</sup> Both are from the third *Hundred*.

The spread of Heywood over the volume makes it very likely that this was the result of some kind of ongoing interest in Heywood's texts. Though the long shifts may have been copied *seriatim* from another source, the two single texts demonstrate how the one compiler was working with the texts in significantly different ways – a variety which may represent a more sustained investment of interest from the compiler. And since the epigrams are taken from out of a larger body of texts – assuming that a print copy was, at some point, the copy text for these poems – we may also conclude that they are almost certainly not the result of

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<sup>39</sup> STC 13286, 13287, 13288 and 13289.

<sup>40</sup> See only four entries in Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I 1450-1625: Part 2 Douglas-Wyatt*, 216, HyJ 1-4. While a number of poems attributed to him are included in BL MS Add. 15223, they rarely appear to have circulated in any substantial way. Curiously, Collier forged Heywood epigrams in the miscellany Folger MS v.a.339; see Giles E Dawson, 'John Payne Collier's Great Forgery,' *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971), 1-26.

<sup>41</sup> PRF15, pp. 41-43. For the work of attributing the authorship and source of these epigrams I am indebted to Sanderson, 'Manuscript Collection of Poems,' 189-208.

<sup>42</sup> PRF15, pp. 100-101.

<sup>43</sup> PRF15, pp. 28, 55.



the slavish reproduction of a copy text.<sup>44</sup> The scribe behind hand A may simply have engaged with one of the copies of Heywood, actively choosing a preferred set of texts from amongst the very many that the printed volume presented. Given the spread of Heywood through the volume this seems more likely than that hand A copied the texts from another intermediary Heywood fancier *seriatim*, though this remains a possibility. Nonetheless, in some sense, the Heywood poems in PRF15 are likely to be evidence not just of copying, but of a reader's intelligent engagement with the page before them.

This piecing together of a selection of Heywood's little epigrams is rendered more interesting by the fact that equivalent responses to Heywood's works are found elsewhere, showing how an ad hoc approach to recording epigrammatic writing was a phenomena found across early modern culture. An unusual and fascinating example is left in a copy of *Heywoodes Workes* now held at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and particularly in an extended poem of two parts of 13 and 11 short 'chapters', called the *Dialogue Conteyning the Number of the Effectuall Prouerbes in the English Tongue*. Heywood's *Dialogue* presents, at length, a digest of English proverbs, developed into a series of rhyming couplets. Although not, strictly speaking, a sequence of epigrams in the style that we find in verse collections, proverbs had a recognised stylistic proximity to epigrams in this period, and the constitution of the *Dialogue* as a sum of small elements validates the its use as a comparator here. The purpose of arranging the proverbs in the manner of a continual stream appears to have an important didactic function, 'To thentent that the reader, readily may / Finde them and mynde them, when he wyll alway.'<sup>45</sup> While the form certainly lends itself to oral recollection, the Folger reader went a

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<sup>44</sup> Though we may not rule out the existence of an independent manuscript tradition from the author onwards, this seems somewhat improbable.

<sup>45</sup> John Heywood, *Iohn Heywoodes VVoorkees. A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall Prouerbes in the English tongue, compacte in a matter concerning two maner of Mariages. With on hundreth of Epigrammes: and three hundreth of Epigrammes vppon three hundreth Prouerbes: and a fifth hundred of Epigrammes. Whereunto are newly added a sixte hundred of Epigrammes by the saide Iohn Heywoode* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1576), A1v. STC 13287, Folger Copy. See Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I 1450-1625: Part 2 Douglas-Wyatt* at HyJ 1.

significant step further: not only annotating the text, but inserting a sheaf of blanks at the end of the printed book on which to write up notes from the text.

The early provenance of the 1576 *Heywoodes Workes* is unknown. Before its residence at the Folger, it was owned by T. D. C. Graham, as shown by its bookplate.<sup>46</sup> No evidence for the name of any earlier owner remains, and the book's users are unlikely to emerge except through some chance discovery of equivalent handwriting. The hand itself, a highly readable though amateur secretary could quite reasonably have been written at any time in the fifty years subsequent to the printing of the book. Its reading marks extend throughout the book, from the underlining of passages from the *Dialogue*, to little crosses and hyphens carefully written in next to particular epigrams from the six hundreds included therein.

The underlining in the *Dialogue* is extensive and appears to be quite precise. Many examples could be taken to illustrate their activity, but a passage from the first chapter of the first part will do as well as any other:

Some things that prouoke young men to wed in haste.  
Show after wedding, that hast maketh wast.  
When tyme hath turnde white sugar to white salte,  
Then such folke see, soft fier maketh sweete malte.  
And that deliberation doth men assist,  
Before they wed to beware of had I wist.<sup>47</sup>

Here, Heywood has drawn at least three proverbs into a narrative about marriage: wedding in haste will surely learn the lessons that 'hast maketh wast', that 'tyme hath turnde white sugar to white salte', and 'soft fier maketh sweete malte'.<sup>48</sup> But this reader does not just leave it within the narrative: but has underscored the precise bounds of the proverb. This is, in fact, a

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<sup>46</sup> Graham is not listed in the ODNB, nor in Seymour DeRicci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

<sup>47</sup> Folger, STC 13287, A3.

<sup>48</sup> These are indexed in Morris Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950) as H189, T341 and F280; Heywood's is the earliest example of the first two.

treatment given to many of the proverbs on that particular page, as though this were a flurry of selection. Highlighting on other pages is, however, more sparsely undertaken.

Other readers left traces of this kind, underscoring pertinent points.<sup>49</sup> But the reader of this particular copy<sup>50</sup> took another step to making their responses to the poem useful and productive. This involved adding a further twenty blank leaves at the end of the printed volume, within the same binding, and then copying out by hand the proverbs contained in Heywood's *Dialogue*. They retain the order that they were given by Heywood. Thus, corresponding to the annotations in the first book, we see the following:

ffirst    who so that knowe what would be deere  
parte.    should neede be a marchent but one yere.  
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□        The best or worst thing to man for this life,  
          Is goode or ill choosinge his good or ill wyfe.  
-----  
          haste maketh wast.  
-----  
□        Softe fyer maketh swete malt.  
-----  
          Beware of hadd I wyst.  
-----  
          Erly vpp & never the neere.  
-----  
          hott love sone could.<sup>51</sup>

Even in this short passage, that takes in so much of what has previously been underscored, some discrimination has been made: the proverb that 'When tyme hath turnde white sugar to white salte' has been passed by. The exact significance of the '□' symbol is not clear, but may act as a further indicator of importance or note. In conclusion, the reader has managed to go

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<sup>49</sup> As demonstrated by the reader recorded in Folger's copy of STC 13286.

<sup>50</sup> That is, in the Folger's copy of STC 13287.

<sup>51</sup> Folger STC 13287 (second part), 1<sup>r</sup>. The dashed line, here, approximates hand-drawn lines.

through the poem to discover what they wanted – an interesting array of proverbs, that can now once more be stripped of their poetical trappings.

There is something slightly odd in what this reader of Heywood is doing. The *Dialogue* is a particular amalgam of common proverbs creatively presented in such a way to make them more memorable and readable. Yet this one reader uses their notes to restore those proverbs into their fragmentary originals – and freed from a reliable scheme of metre and rhyme, they are presumably less immediately memorable. However, behind their actions lies another process that is important to us as historians of reading and compilation. They prune and discard what the author had so thoughtfully written, to make it into a sequence or collection that suits their particular desires, tastes, or needs. In a basic sense this hints at what Marotti calls ‘social textuality’ at the level of collection and compilation. PRF15’s hand A may not have undertaken to effect quite so strong a set of alterations to the printed collection of Heywood, but their approach to the texts was fundamentally similar to the Folger reader of the *Dialogue*. A choice has been made, reducing a potentially unmanageable quantity to a selection that covers much ground without taking everything down.

If the early annotator of Heywood represents reading and copying at its most active, the copying of Owen into PRF15 presents a case that offers a significant alternative method of the reception of texts. The copying of those epigrams into PRF15 was undertaken by a hand whose contribution to the manuscript extends very little beyond these Owen epigrams. As such, its reception by the main owners of PRF15 is significantly passive, as they appear to accept the authority and status of the selection imposed upon them by another hand.

Like Heywood’s English poems, Owen’s Latin epigrams were widely published in print during and after his lifetime and they do not appear to have had a wide circulation in

manuscript.<sup>52</sup> As Byron Harries relates, Owen's verse was printed in editions between 1606 and 1613, some of them in multiple editions.<sup>53</sup> The 48 texts by Owen in PRF15 are a selection of epigrams that feature in his *Epigrammatum Libri Tres* (1606), taken from across the volume.<sup>54</sup> They are all included in one long passage. The first twenty are taken from book I, between 21 and 163, and are mostly arranged in the order they appear in print. The next thirteen are from book II, between 44 and 202, and, again, are mostly in order. The next four are from book III, between 46 and 67, in order, and a further eight are from book one, this time *not* in order. The final four epigrams consist of one epigram each from books III and II, and two from book I. As with the Heywood epigrams, these could quite easily represent an advanced form of reading notes, the copying of certain texts that are particularly interesting or engaging. The ordering of the selected poems from the first, second and third books in order does seem to imply that they might have been produced in the course of a through-reading, though the disordering within those sections would then need explaining.

Yet in this case, the relationship between PRF15 and a printed copy of Owen's *Epigrammatum* is clearly distanced owing to the hand that does the transcriptional labour. The transcription of Heywood epigrams was carried out by hand A, who dominated the transcription of texts in the first part of that manuscript, regardless of its application in *seriatim* or ad hoc stints. In contrast, the epigrams of Owen are copied by hand E, and represent the only major contribution of E to the book. E clearly writes in *seriatim* stints, is remarkable for being one of the most elegant hands in the manuscript, and could well be the hand of a professional scribe (see fig. 10). Not only is the hand elegant, but the epigrams are unified presentationally; titles are given to each epigram, and where one is not provided a device is

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<sup>52</sup> Byron Harries, 'John Owen the Epigrammatist: a Literary and Historical Context,' *Renaissance Studies* 18.1 (2004), 21.

<sup>53</sup> Harries, 'John Owen the Epigrammatist,' 26.

<sup>54</sup> John Owen, *Epigrammatum libri tres autore Ioanne Owen*, (London: Apud Ioannem Windet, sumptibus Simonis Watersonii, 1606); see PRF15 pp. 116-120. Again for details on the sources of these epigrams I rely on Sanderson, 'Manuscript Collection of Poems,' 568-618.

used to separate the texts. The work could have been done as a kind of commission, or as a personal favour for the owner of the manuscript.

The implication of this copying for readership is very significant. In the texts' path from original sequence to the book, at least two operations have occurred: an elected set of choice epigrams has been produced from direct engagements with Owen's epigrams, a reader picking over for preferred bits; then, some version of that copy has been inserted into PRF15, almost certainly not the responsibility of anyone intimately connected with the manuscript. The principle owner of PRF15 has necessarily capitulated to this external influence, accepting a series of choices and decisions made by someone else. However malleable poems were under the conditions of 'social textuality', here is one reader/owner who is (at one moment) prepared to accept a kind of authoritative version of a text. Effectively, this choice need not represent the reading activity of the manuscript's owner, nor need they have ever even been read. The texts in PRF15 are a particularly compelling example of how a choice of texts could be imposed on the willing page, and 'authority' is invested elsewhere than in the reader/owner. Similar examples can be found in other manuscripts, and a fuller survey may reveal many more.<sup>55</sup>

To conclude this section. MC15 and PRF15 both include many epigrams and short poems, copied by important and marginal hands, and each of them in a variety of styles that suggest varying forms of engagement and interest in the copied poems. Repeating these observations reminds us, of course, how manuscript collections were prone to be collaboratively produced, and, in an amateur sphere, to be somewhat erratic in their modes of copying. But there is another point to be made here. Assuming that the manuscripts in question were principally owned by one person at any one given time, the involvement of

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<sup>55</sup> Good comparisons might be made with the forms in which groups of libels were transcribed: for example, Farmer, 'Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript with the Hand of Robert Herrick,' 60-79, and Chetham's Library, A.4.16, p. 37. See also Chapter 4.

many different hands suggests that copying and reading have an interesting and important relationship: they are by no means identical practices. However engaged an *external* copyist is – whatever precise mode of copying they were employing – their copying extends the range of the transmission of a text, providing no equivalent guarantee that the readership of the text (or texts) was similarly extended. When liminal hands transcribe poems in a manuscript, we must be willing to imagine that those texts were received passively by the owner of the book, who undertook no unequivocal action to have them inserted. The evidence of the object study that follows shows how the active practices of re-arrangement and so on met with the more passive acts of copying in the location of one sequence.

*'Epigrammes' and 'Epigrammes per B.R.' in MC15 and PRF15*

In order to move on from these general reflections, the current section will start to engage with an 'object study' of a central sequence of epigrams from MC15 and PRF15. The textual object in question is a sequence of 31 epigrams entitled 'Epigrammes' in MC15, and 22 entitled 'Epigrammes per B.R.' in PRF15, potentially attributable to the lawyer Benjamin Rudyerd (1572–1658). It is especially important for the unusual impression of unity and authority with which both of its witnesses provide it.<sup>56</sup> Reading the texts and their variants in conjunction with some of the ideas that we have been using thus far, we start to realise that in manuscript transmission, there is little hope that an 'authoritative' text will be presented, owing to the prevalence of more relaxed treatments of texts. What we mean by 'authoritative' need not imply any direct connection to an author, but can indicate instead a means by which a kind of aura is generated, a unity, a sense in which its alteration at the hands of readers ought not to be attempted. When some form of authority or a 'bibliographic ego' appears in

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<sup>56</sup> The convincing (but still circumstantial) case for attribution is made in Sanderson, 'Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyerd],' 241-55, which also prints the sequence from PRF15, with collations from MC15. Attention had been previously given to the sequence in Williams, 'Henry Parrot's Stolen Feathers,' 1019-30.

manuscript collections, it is not without challenge and subversion from the more accommodating ideology of ‘social textuality’.

The presentation of the sequence in both manuscripts as unified and authoritative is undertaken in several ways – most of which are unusual among epigrams in early modern manuscripts. The poems that proceed under their relative titles are all relatively stylistically consistent, the majority making satirical jibes against characters named with Latin pseudonyms in the form so characteristic of Martial’s epigrams. Such consistency is unusual in manuscript collections, where adjacent epigrams could be so diverse in style. Here, their stylistic consistency is heralded with the Latin titles – ‘In Chus’, ‘In Brillum’, and so on – that again, originate with Martial.

Beyond style, their copying in a *seriatim* stint marks the epigrams as independent, a distinction advanced by other material features. In MC15, ahead of the first epigram in the sequence, the title of ‘Epigrammes’ (fig. 11, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>) clearly marks their beginning, while a bold curlicue (fig. 12, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>) is offered as a very definite mark of conclusion. As MC15 presently stands, these ‘Epigrammes’ are copied in hand A, distinct from the work by hands D, D\* and G which they are preceded by, and the following work by hand D\*. At one time, however, it looks as though they were followed by a poem called ‘A Sonnet’, of which only part of the title has survived the uncertain dismemberment of the original leaf.<sup>57</sup>

Many presentational techniques set the sequence apart in PRF15.<sup>58</sup> The differences in handwriting are not quite so clear-cut at the start: the sequence is copied in PRF15’s hand A, which also copied the preceding and following sections, and in a scribal stint that may start as much as two pages previous to the start of the sequence itself.<sup>59</sup> The end of the sequence is, however, marked by a change in hand. Paratexts stand in to do similar work as they do in

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<sup>57</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, the neatly cut absent bottom half of the page (60<sup>r</sup>) has been repaired with a machine-produced paper subsequent to its removal.

<sup>58</sup> PRF15, pp. 48–55.

<sup>59</sup> With the poem ‘Beast his sonnett // O loue whose power and might’, PRF15, p. 45.



MC15. The sequence's title of 'Epigrammes per B.R.' marks its beginning even more definitely than MC15, with the additional intimation of authorial integrity across the range of short poems. That apparent integrity is asserted once more at the end, with the succinct mark 'Finis B.R.'<sup>60</sup>

*Seriatim* copying is, therefore, just one of several techniques by which the sequence suggests its own totality. I have not seen an equivalent situation in any other manuscript verse collection. However, these sequences are far from the singular authoritative blocks we might assume them to be. As even a cursory comparison shows, they are distinguished from each other by a surprisingly modest overlap in epigrams between the two, textual variants within those epigrams, and the ordering of the epigrams included in both. However meticulous the copying of both sequences seems to be, neither can be shown to occupy a position of authority or veracity over the other. The closer we look, the more we realise how unlikely it is that the variants between the sequences have anything of an author about them.

The 'Epigrammes per. B.R.' in PRF15 are the numerically longer sequence, containing 31 epigrams spread over eight pages, against the 22 in the 'Epigrammes' of MC15 stretching over only seven pages. The MC15 sequence is not simply a reduced version of that from PRF15. The two share only fifteen epigrams, in both cases leaving a number of texts that are uniquely witnessed in one or the other. Characters such as Trogus, Monus, Gulchin and Torto, featured in PRF15, do not register in MC15; similarly, MC15's attacks on Combus, Hyrus, and Limbrus are unique to that manuscript, being absent from PRF15. The character of Mathon, one of the more interesting characters for his probable identification with Sir John Davies, is given an amplified prominence in MC15, where he appears in four epigrams

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<sup>60</sup> PRF15, p. 55. This is, however, slightly imprecisely deployed, as noted in Sanderson, 'Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyard]', 250.

compared to the two on him offered in PRF15.<sup>61</sup> In support of the connectivity of the sequences, some of their ordering is similar. The first four poems, on Baldus, Chus, Brillus and Goll, are identical, and are presented in the same order. Following them, epigrams on Chara, Mathon, Arna and Valpus line up in MC15 in an order that is basically the same as their appearances in PRF15 – though even between those four poems, MC15 presents poems not in PRF15, and PRF15 gives poems not in MC15.

With these fairly major losses and gains between the two versions of the sequence, we might easily assume that the two texts represent different stages of authorial revision. Either could be the earlier, and either the later: perhaps Mathon received warm responses in the stage witnessed by MC15, and was augmented in PRF15 while less popular characters were sacrificed; or perhaps there were too few characters in MC15, which were then expanded in the text from PRF15.<sup>62</sup> However, by looking to texts in PRF15 beyond the immediate vicinity of the ‘Epigrammes per B.R.’, the possibility of revision is rendered problematic in very basic ways. This is because two poems that appear under the heading of ‘Epigrammes’ in MC15 find their only other witnesses in PRF15, but outside of the enclosed sequence. How this corresponds to the progress of the sequence is not altogether clear – but it definitively shows that it took more than an originary author to create the ‘Epigrammes’ of MC15.

The first is a poem making fun of the word ‘Jape’ in Chaucer, which would then have referred to an innocent jest; now, it seems, the term has lost its purity. It reads:

Chaucers Iest. 5.

d .ape for iest old Jeffrey Chaucer vsed  
Ladies saie nowe the sence men chaunge and wrest  
Ladies mistake: the worde is not abused

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<sup>61</sup> So far as I am aware none of these epigrams appear in other manuscripts, though some did receive early printings. Sanderson mistakenly cites a text for ‘Philosophers hould this a certaine ground’ (PRF15, p. 53) in Bod. Rawl. c. 639, a manuscript of devotional sonnets.

<sup>62</sup> The likelihood of John Donne’s revisions to his epigram sequences are the basis for DiPasquale, ‘Donne’s *Epigrams*,’ 329-78.

for iapinge still is counted but a iest<sup>63</sup>

In MC15, the poem appears quite definitely to have acquired a place in the sequence, with the title ‘Chaucers Iest. 5.’ (fol. 75<sup>v</sup>, fig. 13). Its numbering gives it a clear and definite place in the sequence, even though it is not rendered in the characteristically Martialian style of the other texts. Perhaps in acknowledgement of its oddity, or perhaps in prudish disdain at the mild lewdness of the text, a later reader has taken some pains to have the poem struck out.

The only other manuscript witness to this poem appears in PRF15, leaving us with the most limited evidence for its circulation (p. 31, fig. 14).<sup>64</sup> Although there are some minor variants, the texts are basically similar. In PRF15, it is copied on a page filled with epigrams, in the third stint of ink on that page; followed as it is by another change of ink, it appears to have been copied independently of any other poem in the collection. There is ostensibly absolutely no connection in PRF15 between the Chaucer epigram and the later sequence of epigrams attributed to B.R.

The second problematic text in question is one of two written on the figure of Combus (fol. 58<sup>v</sup>, fig. 15), made against the character of an ignoramus with pretensions to intelligence. The first (‘In Combum Contradictorem’) suggests that what learning he has is based solely on his ability to contradict whatever the speaker says. The second follows with the title ‘In Eundem’, and compares Combus’ forays into bold speech to a blind horse falling down into a ditch. They ‘fit’ presentationally, and though the title of the first is more extensively descriptive than most of the others, it is given a numbering (which the second poem escapes). Unlike the joke on Chaucer’s jest, the poem has not been deleted by any later

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<sup>63</sup> MC15, fol. 75<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> PRF15, p. 31. Though this poem is rare, the joke itself is not unique: compare ‘Upon one that could not bide the word Jape in Chaucer // My Mistress cannot be content’, found in several manuscripts including PRF15, p. 3. The text was, in fact, printed as early as 1602, in *The Workes of our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, Newly Printed* (London: Adam Islip for George Bishop, 1602), 3T6<sup>r</sup>, which has come to my knowledge too late to consider properly in this chapter.

copyist or reader. Both poems on *Combus* seem to fit the pattern of the sequence in a basic way that arouses no suspicion that the sequence is any less than a whole.

This image is compromised by the only other known witness to ‘*In Combum Contradictorem*’, which is found in PRF15 (fig. 14, again). It is copied immediately before the Chaucer epigram, though written in a paler ink, and with a mark separating the two. Written in the same batch of ink is an untitled epigram against one ‘*Lyndaes*’, and the worth of her appearance, another epigram which appears to be unique.<sup>65</sup> There are some minor but definite textual variants between the two witnesses to the two poems. The repetition of ‘*Combus*’ in line 2 by of the PRF15 text seems a little clunky for such a short poem; the metre achieved is almost anapestic in PRF15, compared to the sturdy iambs of MC15.

Perhaps in transmission to PRF15 from MC15 the *Combus* and Chaucer epigrams were somehow deemed worth keeping, but not within that particular sequence – preserving something of an authorial copy, with a bit of pruning. Alternatively, perhaps somewhere in transmission from PRF15, the ‘*Combus*’ epigram was introduced into the longer sequence, before another author attempted the writing of a second epigram on the same figure. Or, perhaps these two sequences *do* represent two sets of authorial revision, and the presence of the ‘*Combus*’ and ‘*Chaucer*’ epigrams in PRF15 is simply a coincidence – this would be borne out by their immediate proximity, if nothing else. Other than arguments concerning the transmission of texts, the opposition that underlies the comparative study of these two sequences – that is, their apparent individual integrity versus their more heterogeneous textual make up – could be resolved by the appearance of authorial revision, which is by no means more probable than any of the other available options.

My preferred reading is to imagine that even a definitively *seriatim* stint only rarely represents any kind of superior authority: the apparently integrated sequences of MC15 and

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<sup>65</sup> Exactly what the joke is meant to be is puzzling; this seems to have stumped Sanderson also. Sanderson, ‘Manuscript Collection of Poems,’ 152.

PRF15 are actually the product of casually combining epigrams from various sources, inadvertently or purposely moving unrelated poems into an apparently related sequence. The appearance of authority that is exerted by a particular style of copying is a superficial one. This reading is supported by very similar circumstances can be found elsewhere in other early modern collections. For example, among the epigrams in the O'Flahertie manuscript of John Donne's poetry, the non-canonical 'Hinc te nec Styrae nec fana epigrammata mordent' finds its way into a bigger collection belonging to Donne.<sup>66</sup> However assertively authorial that collection is, the stray somehow finds a way in – whether as the result of conscious intention or otherwise. Or still closer to the epigrams under question here, three of the epigrams found in MC15 and PRF were printed by Henry Parrot in his collection *Laquei Ridiculosi: or Springes for Woodcocks* (1613).<sup>67</sup> Although issues in dating the manuscripts mean that it is difficult to tell whether the manuscript tradition borrowed from Parrot, or vice-versa, the practice of epigrams slipping in and out of collections seems well established. In the same volume Parrot included fourteen poems that are demonstrably taken from those of John Harington.<sup>68</sup> John Davies and Richard Braithewaite attacked the rather more obscure Parrot for doing so,<sup>69</sup> but the fact that it was attempted among more minor 'borrowings' suggests a rather liberal attitude towards collecting. In an interesting twist, Samuel Pick's epigram volumes would go on to borrow from out of Parrot.<sup>70</sup> Epigram books, in print as in manuscripts, could be an assemblage of authorially heterogeneous bits and pieces.

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<sup>66</sup> Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 966.5, pp. 337-339. pp. 336 and 340 are blank, except for some scribbled notes.

<sup>67</sup> These are: 'Chus doth soe often to the doctor goe' (MC15, fol. 57r; PRF15, p. 48; Henry Parrot, *Laquei Ridiculosi: or Springes for Woodcocks* [London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for John Busby, 1613], G1r); 'Chara half angry with my bawdie songe' (MC15, fol. 57v; PRF15, p. 49; Parrot, *Laquei Ridiculosi*, G1v); and 'Kinde Arna to her husband kist thes wordes' (MC15, fol. 58r; PRF15, p. 50; Parrot, *Laquei Ridiculosi*, G1r, and which also turns up in *Wits Recreation* pp. 127-8). As noted in Sanderson, 'Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyard]', 242.

<sup>68</sup> Williams, 'Henry Parrot's Stolen Feathers,' 1022.

<sup>69</sup> As discussed in Harold Ogden White, *Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 184-7. Williams' article, cited above, seeks to diminish the level of blame that Parrot deserves for his plagiarism.

<sup>70</sup> Smith, 'Notes on Elizabethan and Jacobean Epigrams,' 66-69.

Our study of manuscript epigrams has brought attention to several phenomena. Epigrams could be copied extensively or individually, by the primary contributors to the manuscript or by scribes who make only a relatively minor impact on a volume's contents. The combination of modes of copying may suggest an ongoing interest in an author or the task of copying itself. Sometimes, copying a choice of epigrams *seriatim* seems to represent a kind of passive acceptance of a pre-selected range of texts; but as these went through manuscript after manuscript, copying in this style can be either lazily error-prone or rebelliously engaged with the texts. Readers and copyists cannot, therefore, be seen as wholly passive or unengaged in the tasks they put themselves to.

In conclusion, this chapter will now turn to some more varied sources, to suggest how these issues in authority, agency and collection have a place in an early modern mindset beyond the activity of copying poems. In the sequence in MC15 that we have been discussing, one epigram – on Mathon – offers an especially interesting commentary on the relationships between the author, text and reader or recipient of epigrams:

Mathon doth all his Epigrammes compare  
To Suites which them in Birchin lane doe make  
for none but whom they fitt they allwaies are  
and such as please them for their own to take

But Mathon thou dost knowe this to be plaine  
that botchere worke so often is refused  
that for to weare them out, themselves are faine  
and that's a shifte, which for good thrift is used

Beleve me Mathon when I speake the truth  
thy stuff is made soe yll, it will not sell  
none takes thy Epigrammes: what then ensues  
faith weare them owte thy selfe, they fit the well.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> MC15, 58r.

The epigram plays on two ideas important to epigrams. Its main point is to respond to an author's attempt to deny that his satirical attacks are aimed at a specified person – an epigrammatic commonplace whose earliest source is in Martial. An epigram from his tenth book, for example, heaps praise on Munatius Gallus, before making the request 'si viridi tinctos aerugine versus / forte malus livor dixerit esse meos / ut facis, a nobis abigas'.<sup>72</sup> As a further defense against the charge, the epigram resolutely declares, 'hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli, / parcere personis, dicere de vitiis'.<sup>73</sup> The meanings of '[H]unc ... modum', are various: they can refer not only to a manner of speech, but also to a limit, bound, or restraint, all of which circumscribe the author's supposed range of activity while augmenting the blame and guilt attributed to the reader.<sup>74</sup>

The poem brings that Martialian assertion into a contemporary urban setting through its use of 'Suites which them in Birchin Lane doe make' as its primary trope, the quotation of which makes it likely that 'Mathon' is to be identified with Sir John Davies.<sup>75</sup> This is a relatively common satirical figure, and refers to the clothing made ready-to-wear – instead of tailored – that Birchin Lane was known for.<sup>76</sup> In an age of personal tailoring, purchasing the clothes 'made at large by guesse for no man, and for euery man, for all, whom they may fit, or who will buy them' regularly seems to have supposed to have been a clear marker of naive

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<sup>72</sup> All references to Martial are taken from D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed., *Martial's Epigrams*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), vol. 2. Book 10.24, ll. 5-6; 'if perchance wicked envy says that verses dipped in green verdigris are mine, drive them away from me, as you do'.

<sup>73</sup> 10.23, ll. 9-10; 'This rule my little books know how to observe: to spare persons, to speak of vices'.

<sup>74</sup> Taken from P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>75</sup> Sanderson, 'Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyard]', 252. The early modern epigram has a particular affiliation with London: see Lawrence Manley, 'Proverbs, Epigrams, and Urbanity in Renaissance London,' *English Literary Renaissance* 15.3 (Autumn 1985), 247-76, and Lawrence Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology* (London: Croon Helm, 1986), 239-256.

<sup>76</sup> The same lane would be known in the later seventeenth century for its numerous coffee houses, and in the eighteenth for its printers.

country gulls who are newly arrived in London.<sup>77</sup> The proximity of Birchin Lane to the sophisticated meeting place of St Paul's no doubt only compounded its satirical value.

In the early modern period, 'clothes were material mnemonics, the bearers of names', and the figuration in this epigram clearly plays on this cultural tendency. Exactly whose name is materialized is not strictly determinate: 'whose name is materialized in cloth? The name of the spinner, the weaver, the tailor, the giver of livery, the previous wearer, the present wearer?', and so on.<sup>78</sup> In Mathon's reading, it is the wearer – that is, the reader who responds – that gives life to the texts.<sup>79</sup> That reading posits the author's engagement as transparent, invisible, and indifferent: as soon as something fits, the author loses all semblance of responsibility. Yet in its assumption that the shape and form an author gives to a text are created in abstraction from any particular personal target, Mathon only augments the authority and capability of the authorial figure, who knows his targets – whether personal or otherwise – better than they know themselves.

Yet Mathon's respondent realises that the text and its author cannot get away quite as easily as that. The mark of the author is not transparent, but is clearly registered at the level of shoddy 'botchere work' manufacturing from which it has been constructed. The authorial mark is sufficiently deep that it is ultimately the author himself that must take the poem – but this also relies on clients, wearers, and readers having sufficient power, control and intelligence to recognise their desire and refuse what is offered them, if appropriate. The egoistic authorial confidence with which Mathon is possessed is supposed to have no direct influence or control over his readers' responses – in the process of awaiting readers who will fit the clothes, come those 'so often' that refuse to take the clothes as they are.

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<sup>77</sup> William Hawkins, *Apollo Shrouing composed for the Schollars of the Free-schoole of Hadleigh in Suffolke. And Acted by them on Shrouetuesday, being the Sixt of February, 1626*. (London: Robert Mylbourne, 1627), 30-31. Many examples of the trope can be discovered through relevant searches on *EEBO*.

<sup>78</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 32.

<sup>79</sup> Mathon's stance appears to have its source in a reported saying of John Davies: as noted in Sanderson, 'Epigrammes P[er] B[enjamin] R[udyard]', 253.



Perhaps these two positions crudely correspond to the opposition between ‘seriatim’ and ‘ad hoc’ copying that this chapter has been at pains to draw out. The seriatim copyist agrees with Mathon, taking the texts as they are offered and making no diversion from it. The ad hoc copyist does not go so far as the readers imagined in the epigram, refusing point blank to take the epigrams, but is only prepared to do so with their own agenda, and in an ignorance of the author that could be wilful or otherwise. The basic set up of the ‘Epigrammes’ is likely to have been asserted by an author at some point, and that input cannot readily be dissolved. Yet in its actual manifestations it bears a variety of marks which, as we have seen, could emerge from all kinds of sources.

This attitude presents a foundational challenge to the importance of the author as a governing intelligence in the production of epigram sequences. We may recall the studies mentioned at the start of this chapter, and perhaps compare them with another firm position on the importance of an authorial ‘whole’. T.S. Eliot, for example, once praised the miscellaneous volume of poems by George Herbert in the following terms:

But *The Temple* is something more than a number of religious poems by one author: it was, as the title is meant to imply, a book constructed according to a plan; and as we get to know Herbert’s poems better, we come to find that there is something we get from the whole book, which is more than a sum of its parts. What has at first the appearance of a succession of beautiful but separate lyrics, comes to reveal itself as a continued religious meditation with an intellectual framework.<sup>80</sup>

In this case, there is relatively little space for a reader to interject in the plan of a great poet.<sup>81</sup>

Wholeness is the mark of good poetry, and fragments outside of this scheme are devalued.

This posits a great deal of faith in the author’s ability and the propriety of the text: given the presence of an ‘intellectual framework’ governing all of the elements there is no strict place for

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<sup>80</sup> T.S. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber, n.d. [1957]), 45.

<sup>81</sup> Although this opinion might not be found consistently across the Eliot’s oeuvre, the essay on ‘minor poetry’ is especially interesting for its significance as a point of response for studies of *Hesperides*.

a reader to change things. In some respects, an understanding of the work's relationship to its author more fervent and less considered than Eliot is still possible to maintain: in discussion on the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, Mark Rylance remarks that 'I began to understand that there was a real human need behind the writing. ... I started to be less ready to think that "this is a bad bit of writing here" and "this is a bit that I could muck about with" and change.'<sup>82</sup> Even in the less flexible realm of written (as opposed to performed) text, early modern copyists and readers would have felt no such compunction from the dim spectre of an author or authority 'behind the writing', organizing and presenting the text in its only proper form.

The studies of epigrams identified above as 'intentionalist' rely on demonstrating the integrated unity of what are apparently miscellaneous texts. Although that integrity is seen to be instated by the author, a good deal of the cultural and historical significance of that integrity lies in its assumption of a mode of reading that is fundamentally 'continuous'. A reader, it is supposed, begins their engagement with the text at the beginning of a book or sequence, and continues to read each line from left to right, one after the other down the page, until there are no more words to read. However, this mode of reading is being increasingly understood to be highly distinct from what 'standard' early modern practice would be. In a reading of *Hesperides*, Randall Ingram, writes that the 'seventeenth-century book ... allows a tremendous degree of agency to readers', in contrast with more restrictive contemporary conceptions.<sup>83</sup> The more recent application of continuous reading to books (as demanded by novels), turns out to have been 'a brilliantly perverse interlude in the long history of discontinuous reading', as Stallybrass describes.<sup>84</sup> The normality of discontinuous

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<sup>82</sup> William Leahy, 'Mark Rylance (Former Artistic Director, Globe Theatre, London),' *Shakespeare and His Authors: Critical Perspectives on the Authorship Question*, ed. William Leahy (London: Continuum, 2010), 144.

<sup>83</sup> Randall Ingram, 'Robert Herrick and the Makings of *Hesperides*,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 38 (1998), 142.

<sup>84</sup> Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible,' *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 47.

reading would have been accepted by poet and reader alike; Herrick was ‘perfectly willing to disintegrate his book’.<sup>85</sup> In manuscripts, discontinuity in composition and reading are played out all the more emphatically through the tendency of copyists to disintegrate epigram sequences and re-integrate individual texts into new places.

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<sup>85</sup> Ingram, ‘Makings of *Hesperides*,’ 129.

Chapter 4: 'From Katherins dock their Lanch't a Pinke' in seventeenth-century manuscripts

If the previous chapter introduced us to some modes of copying within early modern manuscript texts, the current chapter will suggest how the analysis of these methods of copying can contribute to wider debates concerning early modern culture. It will do so through an analysis and object study of a single libel written on Frances Howard, 'From Katherins dock there Lanch't a Pinke'.<sup>1</sup> Since verse libels express anxieties and criticisms of contemporary court politics in a form that is basically literary, understanding them necessarily requires close attention to a varied range of evidence. The basic historical events they respond to must be discussed; the message of the text needs interpretation; its tropes need glossing to make sense of its place in a wider cultural economy. Additionally, the media for transmitting libels were always heterogeneous – whether oral or by hand – and distant from a means of production even as dimly standardized even as print. It is therefore almost always important to consider the available evidence for how the libels reached their earliest readers.

This chapter will endeavour to cover all of these bases. It will begin by showing how the poem might be read as a politically 'radical' text, with attention to its cultural and political context, and in comparison with other related libels. A consideration of its manuscripts will

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, references are to the text of the poem as it is found in MC15, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>. Other versions of the text are published in David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993), 117, from BL MS Sloane 2023, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>; *ESL*, F4, taken from BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>; and Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 182-3, taken from BL MS Harl. 1221, fol. 96<sup>v</sup>. For major recent studies on libels see Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and McRae, *Literature, Satire*, and the work surveyed in Alastair Bellany, 'Railing Rhymes Revisited: Libels, Scandals, and Early Stuart Politics,' *History Compass* (2007), 1136-79.

follow, the diversity of which urge us to recognise that it is not only the quantity of copies of 'From Katherins dock' circulated in the seventeenth century that marks its significance, but *how* it was copied in those manuscripts. Fears of the effects of libels were commonplace in the early seventeenth century: Edward Coke describes how 'when an epigram, rhyme, or other writing is composed or published, to the scandal or contumely of another' it was liable to 'stir up others of the same family, blood, or society, to revenge, and to break the peace'.<sup>2</sup> Their utility in modern historiographical discourse relies on a similar apprehension of the form as a tool of political dissemination and disruption. However, manuscripts very rarely suggest responses to libels that could have supported Coke's fears: simply a part of the poetical scene in the early seventeenth century, they often appear to be consumed in such a way that specific interests do not seem to come into it. The chapter's conclusion argues, therefore, that the most important cultural work of the libel rests in part on their encouragement of a reception of scandalous political texts that was more passive and permissive than actively engaged.

In the case of the sequence of the 'Epigrammes' possibly attributable to Benjamin Rudyerd, discussed in the previous chapter, it was most important for us to handle them with minute detail, and set closely in context the manuscripts in which they were copied. The circumstances are different for libels, possessed as we are with a very substantial number of witnesses, each of which is substantially different from the others. Simply by collecting together discussions of the different manuscript texts in this chapter, we will see what a rich evidential basis libels offer for 'object studies' in manuscript texts. This chapter will use these manuscripts to construct a distinctive narrative for historical development in the reception of 'From Katherins dock'.

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<sup>2</sup> John Henry Thomas and John Farquhar Fraser, eds., *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, Knt*, 6 vols. (London: John Butterworth and Son, 1826), 3.254.

*From Katherins dock': Text and Context*

While there are precedents of object studies in early Stuart libels, the field stands to gain from a more intensive study of 'From Katherins dock their Lanch't a Pinke' than has previously been offered.<sup>3</sup> Its concern with Frances Howard and Robert Carr is a common one, and represents one of the more popular areas of collection of verse libels; yet in spite of the particular attraction the libels on Howard and Carr have drawn, scholarly attention to their manuscripts is far from complete.<sup>4</sup> 'From Katherins dock' is arguably one of the more sophisticated libels of this kind, and it successfully draws together many significant figures involved in Howard's divorce and re-marriage into an effective narrative framework. Moreover, it is one of the more widely circulated of Somerset libels, with at least twenty two copies now extant.<sup>5</sup> The libel lies at the centre of a constellation of important and stimulating evidence to which a close study of manuscripts can very usefully contribute.

Since every available text of the poem is variant from all others in some way, and few can be claimed as either authoritative or corrupt,<sup>6</sup> we should begin with a text of the poem that at least, does not have any outrageous variants from the others. The following version, copied into MC15, is readily comparable to most texts:

From Katherins dock there Lanch't a Pinke  
which soare did leake yet did not sinke.  
Er while she lay by Essex shore  
Expecting rigging, yards, & store,

<sup>3</sup> See O'Callaghan, 'Performing Politics,' 121-38 and Knowles, "'Songs of Baser Alloy,'" 153-76.

<sup>4</sup> On manuscripts of Somerset libels see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 67-92, based on the earlier essay Joshua Eckhardt, "'Love-Song Weeds, and Satyrique Thornes': Anti-Courtly Love Poetry and Somerset Libels," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (2006), 47-66.

<sup>5</sup> I have consulted those copies held at the British Library, Bodleian Library, Folger Shakespeare Library, Chetham's Library, and Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock. The number of copies places the poem among the more popular of early Stuart libels, though falling well short of such texts as 'The Five Senses' with at least forty one known copies, and the forty widely varying texts of the 'The Parliament Fart' that have been recorded. For 'The Five Senses // From such a face whose Excellence', see *ESL*, L8, and Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 200; on 'The Parliament Fart', *ESL*, Cliv.

<sup>6</sup> The text of BL MS Harl. 1221 is a notably faulty text, possibly due to eye-skip in transcription; at least two further manuscripts copy from that version. The text in Bodl. MS Ashmole 38 seems to have been altered more than usual in the process of transmission.

But all desasters to prevent  
with winde in poope she sail'de to Kent.  
At Rochester she anchor cast  
*which* Canterbury did distast.  
But Winchester *with* Elies helpe  
Did hale to shore this Lyons whelpe.  
She was weak sided and did heele  
To Somerset to mende her Keele  
He stop't her leake, and sheath'd her fort,  
And made fitt for any Port.<sup>7</sup>

The seven rhyming couplets of this raw and vituperative text could easily have been raucously sung to a tune such as 'The Clean Contrary Way'.<sup>8</sup> The historical background to the text has often been recorded, but deserves another outing here.<sup>9</sup> Frances Howard, the daughter of Katherine Howard and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, married the third Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, in 1606, at the age of fourteen. She attempted to have the marriage annulled in May 1613, on the grounds that Essex had been unable to consummate the marriage – allegedly capable of sexual arousal with other women, he was impotent when alone with Howard. The ensuing legal enquiries were not limited to intellectual and ecclesiastical discussions, but demanded an inspection of her virginity, and even lead to accusations of witchcraft against Howard. The nullity was prominently opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbott, but with King James' intervention in July 1613, the annulment went ahead in September of that year. While the legal proceedings had been underway, it was rumoured publicly that Howard was planning to marry Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset and an important favourite of King James. Doing so would be a useful political move for both sides – by signalling Carr's alignment with the Howards and their faction, the Somerset

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<sup>7</sup> MC15, fol. 69v; see fig. 16. There are a number of interesting variants across the many witnesses to the poem: 'Somerset' appears in different ways to spell out the pun, such as 'some are sett' (BL MS Sloane 2023) or 'Some-war-set' (Bl Harl. 6038); the final word is 'sport' in a number of copies; and one copy extends the shape of the given text by four lines (Derbyshire Record Office).

<sup>8</sup> Claude M Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 109

<sup>9</sup> The following account is based on Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 80-82.

faction's ability to influence the King would be significantly enhanced. Carr and Howard married in December 1613, relatively soon after the annulment.

Texts of all kinds followed these events. Prose accounts of the nullity proceedings circulated widely in manuscript, and epithalamia and masques celebrating the Somerset wedding were composed by leading authors such as Jonson, Campion, and Middleton.<sup>10</sup> While the prose was not inherently factional or opinionated, the 'authorised' verse texts offered distinctly positive readings of Carr and Howard.<sup>11</sup> Yet Howard's divorce and re-marriage also engendered far more cynical treatments at the hands of libellers.<sup>12</sup> Focusing on the political benefits of the marriage, libels criticised Robert Carr's presumptuous rise to position and influence, recounting his swift ascent as 'A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle';<sup>13</sup> another described him as 'one made a lord for his good face / That had no more witt then would bare the place.'<sup>14</sup> Frances Howard was treated principally in terms of her sinful sexuality, treated as 'A mayde, a wyfe, a Countesse and A whore',<sup>15</sup> who 'craves as much as two men can'.<sup>16</sup> With its obsession on the progress of Frances Howard, 'From Katherins dock' dispenses almost entirely with the image of Carr, and joins other libels in a scurrilous attack on her actions.

The early history of the reception of the Essex divorce is considerably confused by the scandal surrounding the death of the poet, courtier, and sometime close friend of Robert Carr, Thomas Overbury.<sup>17</sup> Overbury had died in September 1613 in the Tower of London, where

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<sup>10</sup> Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 124.

<sup>11</sup> The variegated modes of 'authorized' discourse is the topic of Michelle O'Callaghan, "Now thou may'st speak freely": Entering the Public Sphere in 1614,' *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament* eds. Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 63-80.

<sup>12</sup> See *ESL*, section F. The first to note the connection between these disparate responses was probably James L. Sanderson, 'Poems on an Affair of State – The Marriage of Somerset and Lady Essex,' *Review of English Studies* 17.65 (1966), 57. Cynical responses also appeared in dramatic works, such as Thomas Middleton's *The Witch* (c. 1616).

<sup>13</sup> *ESL*, F1, l. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, F10, ll. 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, F1, l. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, F3, l. 4.

<sup>17</sup> The following account is again based on Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 145-150.



he had been imprisoned after a complicated set of circumstances arising from his opposition to the marriage of Howard and Carr. His death caused no immediate outcry, but in 1615 it was suggested that he may have been poisoned. As Overbury had been an opponent of the Essex nullity, the Somersets were suspected of his murder, and they were imprisoned in the same year. Although both pleaded not guilty to the charges brought against them, they were convicted of the crime. While escaping the death penalty, they were imprisoned until 1622.

The suspicion of the involvement of the Somersets in Overbury's murder generated far more libels than the nullity.<sup>18</sup> Some of the 'murder' libels were simply re-workings of texts composed earlier, showing the close connection of the two events in the imagination of the early seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup> 'From Katherins dock' makes no references to the death of Overbury, and was almost certainly composed as a response only to the Essex nullity and Somerset wedding. However, the later events are undoubtedly partly responsible for the circulation of the poem, as, like the vast majority of 'nullity' libels, almost all of its copies in manuscript are accompanied by 'murder' libels.<sup>20</sup>

Even when the context of 'From Katherins dock' is understood, closer attention is necessary to render this dense libel intelligible.<sup>21</sup> The libel begins with what appears to be an allegorical representation of Frances Howard's birth to Katherine Howard, here figured as the launch of a 'pink' – a sailing boat specifically designed for fishing and coasting<sup>22</sup> – from London's Katherine's dock, a known haunt of prostitutes. Already leaking 'soare', she makes it to 'Essex shore', her first marriage to the third Earl of Essex.<sup>23</sup> Apparently unsatisfied with Essex's provision of 'rigging, [suggestively phallic] yards, & store', she moves on to Robert

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<sup>18</sup> *ESL* section H records 28 libels on Overbury, compared to the 11 of section F on the nullity.

<sup>19</sup> *ESL*, H5, H18.

<sup>20</sup> MC15 is a rare exception, copying just one libel on Howard.

<sup>21</sup> For this explanation, I have drawn on the notes provided in *ESL*, F4.

<sup>22</sup> *OED* n.2.

<sup>23</sup> Although the 'leaking' woman could be regarded a sign of a specifically female sexual immorality, the image of the leaking female ship is not so clear. See the entry on 'leak' in Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. (London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: The Athlone Press, 1994), as well as Gail Kern Paster, 'Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of City Comedy,' *Renaissance Drama* 18 (1987), 43-65.

Carr, who had been made Viscount Rochester in 1611; the text's allusion to Kent is solely to bolster the geography of Rochester, and has no specific contextual referent within Howard's biography. Then, 'Canterbury did distast' her anchoring, though the poem does not make clear exactly why. The text seems to chart Archbishop Abbott's well-known opposition to the Essex divorce, as expressed in a long letter to King James expressing his objections on biblical grounds;<sup>24</sup> however, Howard's coupling with Carr was only supposed to be a rumour at that time, and it was not necessarily the problem at which Abbott recoiled.

The libel continues with references to Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, who supported the Howard-Essex divorce as though in reaction to Canterbury's rebuttal. Following their salvaging of her, after more continuing difficulties, the final stop of the 'pinke' is at 'Somerset': once again, the reference is to Robert Carr, who had been made Earl of Somerset prior to his marriage to Frances Howard. His stopping and sheathing of Howard are both suggestively bawdy: to 'stop' could quite easily allude to the plugging of her vagina, and while 'sheath' could also refer to the vagina, its role in the phrase 'sheath her fort' is not clear.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, these actions refer in some way to their marriage, though the closing prospect of her being made 'fitt for any Port' suggests that the marriage could simply be another stopping place before more coastal visits. Some manuscripts read 'any sport', which turns her to sexual activity of any kind, conjugal or otherwise. In its entirety, 'From Katherins dock' thus manages to integrate a surprisingly extensive cast of characters into a relatively short passage of verse. While not presenting a clear account of the events around Howard, the poem does offer an opinionated and entertaining response to those events.

The libel's engagement with affairs of state – the reason for contemporary historiography's engagement with it, as with all libels – is made using language and allusions

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<sup>24</sup> Often included in accounts of the nullity process, such as in Yale Osborn MS fb 40, pp. 441-456.

<sup>25</sup> See entries for 'fort', 'sheath' and 'stop' in Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery*.

that are opaque to a modern reader: the preceding discussion of the historical references made in 'From Katherins dock' elides the fact that these are delivered within a framework of culturally distinctive tropes. The libel thus works with two forms of politics: the 'affairs of state', which involve prominent figures from the court; and the politics of culture, in which signs connote and suggest meanings that are neither resolvable nor transparent.<sup>26</sup> Although it may well be the case that these two sorts of politics are less distinguishable in the early modern period than at other times, the 'cultural' aspect of the libel needs to be attended to with as much elaboration and detail as the factual glossing. In 'From Katherins dock', this consideration needs to begin with the image of the 'pinke'.

The comparison of woman with boats was a commonplace grounded in Proverbs 31:14, which describes a 'good' woman as 'like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from afar.'<sup>27</sup> An early modern reading of this biblical text presented in terms particularly resonant with the libel is given in a defence of women, *The Excellency of Good Women* (1613), by Barnaby Rich (c.1540-1617). His starting point is to show how the comparison can help the reader to identify a 'good' woman effectively. The image of the ship allows, at first, an important and guiding position for a man, who is 'to be the marchant' to the vessel. He must be allowed to provide a course, with 'the husbands word to be the *Routher* to the shipp, by the which she must be turned, guided and directed'.<sup>28</sup> The will to masculine direction demands a corresponding willingness from the woman-ship, who ought to be 'a stirringe ship quicke of

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<sup>26</sup> A similar point is made in Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 14-15; see also 68-74. This is also well illustrated by studies attentive to libels' role in the history of sexuality – see James Knowles, 'To "Scourge the Arse / Jove's Marrow so had Wasted": Scurrility and the Subversion of Sodomy,' *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, eds. Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 74-92.

<sup>27</sup> Authorised Version.

<sup>28</sup> Barnaby Rich, *The Excellency of Good Women. The Honour and Estimation that Belongeth vnto Them. The Infallible Markes Whereby to Know Them* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1613), p. 8.

stirring'; to assert the importance of the biblical image, Rich asserts how she should not be 'immouable', and 'like a shipp but not like a house'.<sup>29</sup>

For all the masculine agency and female passivity that is extrapolated from the verse in Proverbs, Rich also discovers certain demands for female activity in the image. For example, she must be 'ready at a word of her husband', and 'balanced with *Sobrietie* and *Granuity* that she be not ouer set with euey light pufte of *winde*, she must not set sayle to euey gale that bloweth, but to the *winde* of *wisdome*, the winde of her husbandes breath, for that is it that must direct her in her right course'.<sup>30</sup> Her activity should go so far as 'discovering any perill within her kenning to giue her husband warning, and (as much as in her lieth) to helpe him to avoyde it'.<sup>31</sup> At all costs, therefore, she must pursue her position of subjection. Her passivity, perversely, must needs be actively sought.

Having presented the 'good' woman, Rich proceeds to discern the anti-type of a 'harlot', or bad woman, in the gaps in the biblical text. The 'bad' woman is treated primarily in terms of her uncontrollability – 'Shee is not a good marchants ship that is too tender sided that will stoupe to euey pufte, that doth but beate vppon her quarter, and is so leward, if she doe but bite a little at a *Bouline*, that she will hould no course but with the winde in her poope'.<sup>32</sup> Rich constantly has in mind the hazards of being a bad wife, concluding his remarks by commenting that 'that woman that is not ruled by her husbandes word but is crosse and contrary to his directions is a dangerous wife and runneth her selfe many times into shame and infamy'.<sup>33</sup>

The remarks of the pamphleteer ought, then, to provoke some quite serious considerations of the nature of the libel text. 'From Katherins dock' lacks any identifiable

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<sup>29</sup> Rich, *The Excellency of Good Women*, p. 8. The most probable meaning of 'stirring' in this case is 'A beginning to move; a slight or momentary movement' (*OED* 2a).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

'husband', or 'merchant' figure; thus, the 'pinke' has none of the direction that a single masculine figure ought to be giving her. It rather seems, however, that she is quite prepared to 'set sayle to euery gale that bloweth', journeying from one part of the coast to another without any stated motive or cause. Indeed, the libel admits her to be 'weak sided', almost directly equivalent to Rich's anxiety over the woman who would be 'too tender sided' and 'will stoupe to euery puffe'. Another close correspondence is the libel's description of the ship 'with wind in poop' sailing to Kent, the only way that the bad woman was considered to be able to travel at all.<sup>34</sup>

Even to a contemporary reader, 'From Katherins dock' requires only a very few annotations to be recognised as a bawdy and scurrilous text. So long as a reader knows that the 'dock' itself is meant as a symbol of prostitution, and that the place names of 'Essex', 'Canterbury', and so on, are meant to refer to people as much as places, there is no reason this could not be read on much the same level as Rich's *Excellency of Good Women* – that is, as an attack on the a 'bad' woman regardless of court politics. Its criticisms are launched against the stock type of 'harlot' as much as anyone else. Writing of attacks and defences of women generally, including that of Rich, Cristina Alfar has suggested that '[a]s a result of the value attributed to the pure female body, anxieties about its opposite – the nightmare figure of the adulterous, rebellious woman – proliferate and give rise to a need for control over that which defies order.'<sup>35</sup> With a little more awareness of contemporary court politics, a reader could hope to understand some further aspects of the narrative, but condemnation of the aristocratic subjects need not have been taken as the central message, regardless of their importance in the narrative; the libel could quite reasonably be a part of this 'nightmare', entirely apart from its representations of Howard.

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<sup>34</sup> To have 'wind in poop' is, figuratively, to be 'favourably placed for progress' (*OED* 1.c, *fig*). The reading of 'poop' as 'sexual parts' does not seem to be wholly appropriate, here, though the word does seem to have sexual implications – see Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imager*, s.v. 'poop'.

<sup>35</sup> Cristina León Alfar, *Fantasies of Female Evil: The Dynamics of Gender and Power in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 32.

Yet the unique importance of the libel is due most of all to the double task it performs – not only voicing prevalent patriarchal anxieties, but doing so at the same time as it satirizes the early Stuart court. Although the moral might be commonplace, the application is not; indeed, the social standing of Howard would certainly have augmented the moralized response to her (perceived) adultery. In an extended text of the libel, now apparently unique, a somewhat tangential conclusion is offered:

But after pleasure oft comes paines  
Sweete meates are mixt with bitter graines  
Soe falls it out in glorious states  
Ambition still is crost by fates :<sup>36</sup>

This addition could quite possibly have been made subsequent to the Overbury trial. The first 'moral' added to the libel is homely and proverbial, possibly suggesting that venereal disease follows as a consequence of sexual immorality. If the moral is not read as a cohesive response to the preceding narrative, it is at the very least an attempt to render the poem in terms comprehensible and relevant to any reader. The second moral, 'Soe falls it out in glorious states', does not negate the first, but uses the social elevation of its targets as a kind of warning to everyone who might read it. That it was written on aristocratic subjects only serves, it would seem, to heighten the faults being played out.

The significance of using a 'high' courtly figure as a highly negative exemplar is more fully recognisable through comparison with one version of an 'authorized' representation of Frances Howard. Partly in return for patronage from Robert Carr, John Donne wrote an *Eclogue* and *Epithalamion* for the Somerset wedding on the 26th December, 1613.<sup>37</sup> Despite sounding occasional notes of anxiety, the portrayals of the couple and of court are executed in

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<sup>36</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/5/16.

<sup>37</sup> The *Eclogue* and *Epithalamion* remained in manuscript in Donne's life, circulating through several copies.

terms that are ostensibly and forcefully flattering. Thus, for example, Frances Howard is described in near-divine terms in the *Eclogue*:

her eyes kindle other Ladyes eyes  
Then from theyr beames theyr Iewells lusters rise  
And from theyr Iewells torches do take fire  
And all is warmth and light, and good desire.<sup>38</sup>

This representation goes well beyond providing a positive correlative to the negative example of the libel's 'pink'. Howard becomes an energizing force for the other women at the court, who in turn render it a place of 'warmth and light, and good desire'; as such, she is far more than a 'good woman'. Though not quite a monarch herself, her role is at least in part an extension of King James' harmonizing presence:

Hast thou a History which doth present  
A Court, where all Affections doe assent  
Vnto the Kings, and that the kings are iust?  
And where it is no Leuity to trust  
Where there is no Ambition but to obay  
Where Men neede whisper Nothing, and yet may  
Where the Kings fauours are so plac'd, that all  
Find that the king therein is liberall  
To them in him, because his fauours bend  
To Vertue vnto which they all pretend? (*Eclogue*, ll. 75-84)

At this court, everything comes back to the monarch: affection, justice and obedience are all figured as facets of the King's grace. The monarch's unquestioned centrality provides the greatest freedom.

The libel's representation of the court stands in striking contrast to Donne's poem.

'From Katherins dock' portrays a court without any centre, being made up entirely of

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<sup>38</sup> 'Eclogue. 1613. December 26', ll. 29-32. Text taken from Ted-Larry Pebworth, Gary A. Stringer, Ernest W. Sullivan and et al, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne, Volume 8: The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 133-139.

individuals with no means of associations besides the leaking boat. There is no monarch around whom they may gather, or from which they can receive energy – instead, the court figures are only conjoined by the ‘pinke’. The source of that is, of course the image of the harlot, or ‘bad’ woman, as described by Rich. That immoral element constitutes the court as a body of people; the institution has neither the strength nor the structural stability to expel that element, in itself. This point is particularly important when placed in comparison with other verse libels, in which the Somersets are represented as uniquely bad elements, which could be expelled from the court setting. For example

Essex bird hath flowen hir cage,  
And’s gone to Court to ly with a Page.  
She was a lady fyne of late,  
She could not be entred shee was soe streight:  
But now with use she is soe wyde  
A Car may enter on every side.<sup>39</sup>

Imagined as a bird unleashed from the proper bounds of a cage, the element of femininity is as uncontrollable as the boat of ‘From Katherins dock’. However, that bird is produced as a wholly alien addition to the court. In another version of the libel the first two lines are omitted, and the third changed to ‘There was at court a laydy of late’.<sup>40</sup> Making the connection to Howard is slightly looser, it still assumes the court to be a fundamentally stable institution, whose problems are not in the workings of its own infrastructure.

The institution of the court is represented as a reliably authoritative body elsewhere in Somerset libels:

Letchery did consult with witcherye  
how to procure frygiditye  
upon this ground a course was found

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<sup>39</sup> *ESL*, F5, from Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 17v. Four other sources are listed.

<sup>40</sup> Folger MS V.a.345, p. 290.



to frame unto a nullatye  
And gravitye assuming lenytye  
gave strength to this impietye  
hoping thereby a way to spye  
to rise to further dignytye  
But whats the end both foe and frend  
cry shame on such austerytye  
And booke and bell do dam to Hell  
the Lord and Ladyes lecherye<sup>41</sup>

By representing Carr and Howard solely by their sins – ‘Letchery’, ‘witcherye’, and so on – their status as ‘bad’ examples is made unquestionably clear. The poem evolves them to the more neutral ‘Lord and Lady’ only after the stern response of ‘booke and bell’, law and religion, has been made manifest. The final assertion of authority acts as an assurance that the court is fundamentally in a good condition, besides these two insurgents.

‘From Katherins dock’ does not only insult Frances Howard, then, but offers a more pessimistic and dissolved image of court than was otherwise on offer. It goes beyond other libel texts in its presentation of an almost complete inversion of the ‘authorized’ image of Howard and court. But if we want to understand its impact and position in early modern culture, we need to pay close attention to its reception, which is mostly discovered in manuscripts.

### *Manuscripts*

As previously noted, there is no single ‘text’ of ‘From Katherins dock’, but some twenty-three distinctive copies. The volume of copies of the text alone forces us to acknowledge its importance, as was proposed by early studies of libels.<sup>42</sup> But even a passing acquaintance with those sources shows that there is relatively little in common between them. No two witnesses

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<sup>41</sup> *ESL*, F2, from Bodl. MS Rawl D. 1048, fol. 64r. One other source is listed, though it is likely that there are more.

<sup>42</sup> Early critical claims for the importance of libels were based primarily on their prevalence; see for example Alastair Bellany, “‘Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse’: Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628,” *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: 1994), 100.

to the poem are textually identical; and the form in which each witness is copied is widely different. Understanding these differences is essential to interpreting the place of the libel in seventeenth century culture – and at every level of their contexts, there is a wealth of variety and research to be undertaken. Written on ‘separates’ and in book margins, in verse miscellanies compiled by amateurs, and by assiduously executed scribal hands, the evidence offered by these many sources mean we must consider the libel as far more than a ‘vehicle for the dissemination of political attitudes’, remarkable though they may be in that role.<sup>43</sup> This case-study demands us to recognise that ‘form affects meaning’ in bibliographic terms, and that a full understanding of the cultural role of libels depends on the material from which, and modes in which, that text was presented.<sup>44</sup>

The very obvious varieties in the material circulation of libels means that a number of scholars have drawn attention to the methods of their dissemination. As Croft has enumerated, ‘[m]ost traditionally fixed on church doors, they [libels] could also be stuck on posts, left on seats, cast into public places such as the law courts, or dropped where they could be picked up,’<sup>45</sup> to which we might add singing, and the forms of copying in manuscript mentioned in the previous paragraph.<sup>46</sup> While these modes of transmission are of pivotal importance, only a small proportion of the evidence for ‘From Katherins dock’ could reasonably contribute to such a history: although a few manuscripts are demonstrably connected, and several of the texts suggest the libel’s oral transmission at some point, a full picture of the ways in which libels were disseminated in inter-personal social environments

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<sup>43</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 325

<sup>44</sup> D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>45</sup> Pauline Croft, ‘Libels, popular literacy and public opinion in early modern England,’ *Historical Research* (1995), 271-272.

<sup>46</sup> Alastair Bellany, ‘Singing Libel in Early Stuart England: The Case of the Staines Fiddlers, 1627,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69.1 (2006), 177-93.

does not emerge.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the differences between sources found in manuscripts present the opportunity for a rich ‘object study’ in manuscript collection, and they are readable as such; indeed, the study of a libel such as ‘From Katherins dock’ is one of the places in which a census-based account of texts can really give us interesting material.<sup>48</sup>

Using manuscripts as evidence for the reception of libelling is problematic, since unlike certain other forms of evidence, they do not give a positive discursive response to the texts they copy. Whatever manuscripts can tell us about libels, it is not given in the form of anything resembling a statement. Whereas reports from Star Chamber, dramatic representations and legal discussions all express their response in clearly readable language (however ambiguous those statements might turn out to be), the place of manuscripts is somewhat more elusive, and figuring them as a response to Coke’s fears – that their widespread dissemination might ‘stir others up’ – is challenging.<sup>49</sup> Only very rarely were libels a direct cause for political action, and certainly, no such links can be based on the manuscripts surveyed here.<sup>50</sup>

While connections between libels and political change are regularly made, relatively little of the scholarship on libels has attempted to explore the difficulties and significance arising from the copying and collection of these political poems.<sup>51</sup> In certain respects the conceptual issues should be easier to manage than for other literary forms: divisive as libels are, whether their copyists and readers responded with acquiescence, disagreement, or

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<sup>47</sup> The collections in BL MS Harl. 1221, 6038 and 7316 are closely related. Oral transmission is particularly suggested by the two texts in Bodl. MS Ashmole 38, pp. 135-6.

<sup>48</sup> Compare the accounts of O’Callaghan, ‘Performing Politics,’ 121-138, and Knowles, “‘Songs of Baser Alloy,’” 161.

<sup>49</sup> See for example, Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 299-334, and Alastair Bellany, ‘The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libeling in Early Stuart England,’ *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven C. A. Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 144-67.

<sup>50</sup> The notable example is John Felton’s assassination of the Duke of Buckingham; see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 132-135, and his references.

<sup>51</sup> The major study is Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, on which my reservations have been expressed above. Other relevant discussions include John Morrill, ‘William Davenport and the “Silent Majority” of Early Stuart England,’ *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 58 (1975), 115-129; McRae, *Literature, Satire*, 40-44; Colclough, *Freedom of Speech*, 196-250; and the relevant portions of the essays by O’Callaghan and Knowles previously cited.

indifference, is a serious matter. One highly responsive reader of libels was John Felton, who read libellous texts in advance of his assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. Exciting and provocative as the example of Felton is, William Davenport, another well-known collector of libels amongst more general political writings, is notorious for remaining entirely neutral in the civil war.<sup>52</sup> Libels do not inherently provoke ideological division, as is suggested by the many books that compile texts that are both pro and anti-monarchical. Even though the intellectual and historiographical stakes are higher in dealing with the reception of libels, the spectre that they may not have meant all that much adds an unwelcome layer of difficulty.

Yet manuscripts still give us plenty of information, and it may well be that we can develop a sense of the place and status that an individual libel held for a copyist or reader, even if that cannot be subsequently mapped on to a clear ideological position. Amongst the usual assortment of contextual and historical information, the modes of copying are again a site of particular interest to the concerns of this chapter. The earliest copies in some sense convey a kind of urgency, immediacy and activity in copying and compilation, comparable to the styles of 'ad hoc' copying described in the previous chapter. As the copying of the libels proceeds further into history, that urgency is very commonly lost, with the libel increasingly appropriated into a canon of Somerset libels and other poems, and copied '*seriatim*' instead of in more urgent ways.<sup>53</sup> Whether or not the qualifications of the source material provided here are purely arbitrary, even on purely empirical grounds, there was a major change in the way that 'From Katherins dock' was copied in the course of the seventeenth century.

The qualifications that I have been attaching to different styles of copying are, perhaps, unsettlingly arbitrary; but if we let them stand, it is possible to enter the evidence of manuscripts into a distinct narrative of the politicization of seventeenth-century political

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<sup>52</sup> John Morrill, 'Davenport, William (bap. 1584, d. 1655),' *ODNB* (2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39307>, accessed 25 July 2011>.

<sup>53</sup> In many respects this task is better considered as a kind of 'gallery' of texts, rather than a chronological narrative account: there are clear correlations to be made between these objects, but there is no clear frame of interaction or tradition between them. Compare Cloud, 'FIAT FLUX,' 86-125.

culture. As the dissemination of the libel text continued across the years, the fact of its increasing status as part of a 'canon' of poems appropriate for inclusion in verse manuscripts, marks an increasing politicization of English culture: scandalous verse libels became normalized, a reading experience that lacked the exceptional status it once had. The effect of its dissemination was not, therefore, to make a society made of John Feltons, each individual actively seeking the death of corrupt courtiers; but by helping radical politics achieve a standard position within cultural life, the space for active interventions and engagements was produced.

To adopt the terms laid down in the previous chapter, the earliest dateable copies of 'From Katherins dock' copy the text in an especially interesting range of 'ad hoc' ways, as transitory, ephemeral, and inadvertent as it is possible to make within something so solid a book. These chance encounters nonetheless seem to build into more consistent engagements with issues in the Essex divorce, and in two family-oriented collections we see how ephemeral separates could contribute to a more sustained interest in the events.

After these kinds of copying, the tradition of the libel's reception appears to develop in two directions, both of which suggest a lowering of the levels of activity and agency involved in a conscious engagement with the text, even as they manifestly increase the extent of copies of libels and texts around the divorce, re-marriage and Overbury murder. The two developments nonetheless overlap and connect in important ways. The first development lies in the production of professional, and potentially commercial, volumes of *Somersetiana*, of which only one example survives (in a manuscript owned by Henry Fielde, which we will discuss below). Although it does not seem to attempt to represent an exhaustive compilation of relevant texts, its commitment is to collecting a wide range of texts together in a single elegant location. This nonetheless is a very strong form of *seriatim* copying, one which relies on the careful sorting of copy texts.

The other development in the libels' reception is for its inclusion in volumes that were at some point established specifically for the collection of poems and other texts, including libels. This practice may still involve ad hoc copying and – similar to the earliest transmission of the libel – it often seems to be transmitted as part of a group copied *seriatim*, as if in a miniature version of the Fielde manuscript. *Seriatim* copying seems to end up being one of the primary media of the libel, especially in the Restoration and eighteenth century. As I have indicated above, and will discuss in greater detail below, I take all of this as signs of an increasingly widespread politicization of early modern culture.

The early copies of 'From Katherins dock' show fundamentally committed responses to the task of its transcription. The earliest dateable copy, made in a book of ordnance records from the Tower of London, is found in the margins of the book; 'From Katherins dock' and three other libels on the Somersets are copied out beside the prosaic records.<sup>54</sup> Since the book also notes the execution of Sir Gervase Elwes, and the incarceration of the Earl of Somerset in the Tower of London, the compiler's interest in the libels is supported by what appears to be a first-hand knowledge of Overbury's murder.<sup>55</sup> Besides these poems, and a list of books later in the manuscript, nothing in it marks the volume as a site of collection. Indeed, its large size would rule out its ever being treated in the convenient hand-held way that most collections could have been. As a result, the compilation, so secondary to the main function of the book, seems to indicate quite a remarkable attention and engagement with the current affairs, even if they were not pursued at any length.

A similar kind of spontaneous change in a book's purpose is manifest in at least one other copy of the libel, found amongst what is mostly a medical commonplace book written in Latin and Greek.<sup>56</sup> In this book, a short span of pages were at some point set aside for the

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<sup>54</sup> BL MS Add. 61944, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>. These can be found under *ESL* F1, H5 (both versions of 'A Page, a knight'), and H9.

<sup>55</sup> BL MS Add. 61944, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> BL MS Sloane 2023.

collection of political poems, resulting in the copying of 'From Katherins dock', another Somerset libel, the 'Parliament Fart', and verses on the 'Addled' parliament of 1614.<sup>57</sup> The poems are each copied in slightly different shades of ink, which suggests the copies were made on different occasions. The pages on which the poetry is transcribed therefore suggest the beginnings of a collection in the style of an amateur, put together as the poems came to hand. Again, though, the small collection in an otherwise unrelated note book was stimulated by the high valuation of this particular political poem.

While these early points of the libel's copying took place in venues that were not initially designed for nor ultimately given over to the collection of texts, it was not long before 'From Katherins dock' did find a place in collections of assorted manuscript writings. Its early transmission into two family-based collections in this style seems to have taken place through the medium of the separate. In the Gell papers, the separate libel still survives in that form.<sup>58</sup> An extended version of the poem is written on a scrap of paper that was subsequently folded three times vertically, and once horizontally, along lines that have now substantially decayed, with the scrap now held together with tape (fig. 17). The hand is not familiar from other texts among the papers, and I have not been able to find its equivalent among the papers at the Derbyshire Record Office. In Thomas Gell's hand – so prevalent among those papers – we do, however, find copies of related texts on the Essex divorce. These include two sides of a quarto leaf with an account of the Howard divorce proceedings, undoubtedly a fragment from a longer copy,<sup>59</sup> and a rare copy of Donne's *Eclogue* to his *Epithalamion* for the Somersets.<sup>60</sup> It seems somewhat unlikely that these three very different texts would be preserved entirely by coincidence; instead, it is more probable that someone was making some effort to draw

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., fols. 60<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>; *ESL*, H10, C1, G1.

<sup>58</sup> Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/5/16. This copy is included in the catalogue to the Gell papers at the Derbyshire Record Office, but has not been previously noted by scholars of libels.

<sup>59</sup> D258/7/13/6, [x].

<sup>60</sup> D258/7/5/9, fols. [3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>].

together texts on Howard. Still, in spite of that effort, the fragments remain scattered through the archive, disconnected and nothing like an organized battery of relevant information.

A similar set up can be found in a collection of papers connected to Sir Francis Fane (1583/4–1629).<sup>61</sup> The heterogeneity of the collection's content, combined with its elegant *seriatim* copying into a large folio volume, suggest that this was a set of separates copied out by a household secretary of some kind.<sup>62</sup> In this book, 'from Katherines dock there Launched a Pinck' (165<sup>r</sup>, *ESL* H27) appears as one of three libels on the Somersets, the others being 'The howse of the howards, is nowe growinge towardses, their wonted declyninge' (165<sup>v</sup>), written in the same stint of copying as 'from Katherines dock', and 'Lady chayned to Venus doue' (162<sup>v</sup>, *ESL* F6). These libels are complemented elsewhere by other texts that commonly contributed to the public perception of the divorce. The volume includes two letters – one supposedly from Frances Howard to Mrs Turner, and another to Simon Forman, both 'pleading with them to help her in her attempts to win a lord (assumed to be Robert Carr) to her love, and inhibit the desires of her husband'.<sup>63</sup> It also includes an announcement of the trial of Essex and Howard, dating from April 1616 (163<sup>v</sup>); and the letter in opposition to the nullity by George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, to King James, from July 1613 (143<sup>v</sup>). As is often the case, this does not add up to a complete account; King James' important response, which was ultimately most beneficial to the divorce, is not included, as it is in some manuscripts.<sup>64</sup>

While the volume also includes a version of the libels 'The Parliament Fart' (20<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup>) and 'Vncivil death, that neither woulde conferr' (6<sup>r</sup>, against Thomas Sackville, Lord Treasurer), in addition to a rare copy of a Jonson masque, poetical writings are not the overt concern of

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<sup>61</sup> BL MS Add. 343218. On this volume, see O'Callaghan, 'Performing Politics,' 134–5.

<sup>62</sup> As suggested in Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, 198. Heaton identifies 1616 as the volume's terminus ad quo.

<sup>63</sup> Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 43. The letters are printed in Thomas Bayly Howell, Thomas Jones Howell, William Cobbett and David Jardine, eds., *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for Other Crimes and Misdemeanours*, vol. 2, 33 vols. (London: T. C. Hansard for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816–1826), 931, 932.

<sup>64</sup> Howell, Howell, Cobbett and Jardine, eds., *State Trials*, 2.794. See, for example, Beinecke, Osborn fb 40, pp. 441–450; BL MS Harl. 1221, fols. 201<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>r</sup>.



the collection, whose texts cover a far wider plain. Although little organizational scheme appears to have been applied to its contents, some effort does seem to have been made to corral the mutually relevant Somerset texts into one section of the volume.<sup>65</sup> The rather rough-and-ready organizational strategy does, however, encourage us to think of the collection process of these texts as ad hoc, and to consider them as put together as much by convenient chance as anything else. Although they are obtained and produced within a more general practice of collecting, unlike the earliest volumes we discussed, something of that immediacy and urgency around materials chanced upon does seem to have been retained. While there is no sense in which these texts offer anything like a complete perspective on the case in question, and nor would they really facilitate a proper critical understanding of it, their presence here manifests a collecting reader's occasional interest in the topic. That these texts were deemed worthy to be copied into the more permanent book format gives some indication of the esteem with which these texts were held.

As hinted above, after the relatively lightly undertaken collecting of the libels in family compilations, the development of the copying of 'From Katherins dock' and Somersetiana can be seen to move in two different directions. The first of these, the professional or commercial copying of a significant body of texts on the Somersets, is now fully evidenced by just one manuscript, owned by one Henry Feilde, and the only one to be based entirely on writings around the Somerset divorce and the Overbury murder.<sup>66</sup> It contains sixteen poetic libels, and accounts of the arraignments of the Earl of Somerset, Richard Weston, Anne Turner, Sir Gervase Elwes, and James Franklin. Even if these pieces started off as scattered fragments, their compilation here was necessarily the result of some careful planning and execution.

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<sup>65</sup> I.e. at fols. 162-5

<sup>66</sup> Senate House Library, University of London, MS 313, fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>. My knowledge of the Feilde manuscript is based on Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 68n2. As we read in the following chapter, comparable volumes were produced after the trial and execution of the first Earl of Essex, such as PRF 444/27 and WF V.a.164.

Information may not have been the sole preoccupation of its production, though, owing to its willing acceptance of the scurrilous libels texts.

Fielde's 'finished' volume imbues its texts with relationships that go beyond mere chance encounters. The order in which those texts were first gathered could potentially have been random, and the sources diffuse; nonetheless, they have been rendered as something altogether more coherently gathered and organized, more so than in any other known compilation. Yet alongside the unusually dutiful care taken in compiling these texts, a contrary development has taken place. While the compilation indicates a sustained and careful engagement with the issues and texts involved, in its copying it loses the sense of urgency, demand, and head-turning provocation that we saw in some of the earlier manuscripts.

The other significant development in the ways that 'From Katherins dock' was collected occurred when the poem started to be copied into books that were quite definitely established for the making of collections.<sup>67</sup> The range of copying styles in these fora is again, varied and interesting. The miscellaneous content and diverse hands in MC15 make it an excellent starting point, as ever. In spite of the copying of quite extensive chunks of political prose in this manuscript, political verse and libels are not nearly so fully represented, in addition to 'From Katherins dock', a copy of 'An Epitaph vpon my Lord of Northampton' Henry Howard, from 1614 is made; and a copy of the earlier court satire 'The Lie', often attributed to Walter Raleigh, with a rare reply, with the first line 'Go Eccho of the minde'.<sup>68</sup> It also includes anti-libels on Robert Cecil, and the eulogistic epitaph on King James often attributed to George Morley. In its range, then, the manuscript clearly does not occupy a single ideological position. The collection of these scattered libels was done in an ad hoc way. 'From Katherins dock' is copied in hand D, responsible for much of the copying in the volume, but here presented in a style that is hurried and a placement that is isolated from

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<sup>67</sup> At least one manuscript volume, Bodl. MS Malone 23, was used exclusively for the copying of libels.

<sup>68</sup> MC15, fols. 69v, 101r, 67r-68v.

other transcriptions. Its absence of a title may indicate a continued familiarity with its subject, or it may simply say something about the relative haste with which it appears to have been copied. The other libels are copied in similar ways, never as part of a longer stint, and always copied in some sense on the fly.

Collections of verse other than MC15 often take a considerably more consistent interest to the transcription of libels, and not least in those concerning the Somersets. Within the context of verse collections, 'From Katherins dock' starts to undergo a kind of canonization in different bodies of texts. This process typically takes place among other libels on the Somersets, and amongst bodies of poetic texts of a more general nature. Of course, neither of these are 'canons' in any strict sense, but they are structures within which 'From Katherins dock' loses its own special identity and becomes one text amongst a selection of others. The removal of its individuality is asserted by its having been copied within clear *seriatim* stints.

The exemplary instance of this phenomenon is given within a manuscript once associated with Robert Herrick, now held at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre.<sup>69</sup> The 'Herrick' MS was compiled by several hands, including a couple of major contributors who may also have been 'owners' of the book, much as we suggested for MC15 in Chapter Two. At one point, a selection of ten Somerset libels are compiled by neither of the primary hands of the manuscript but by a highly competent, possibly professional, secretary hand, finished with a curlicue.<sup>70</sup> The process, here, is very much like those Latin epigrams by John Owen copied into PRF15, with the book-owner passively accepting the texts that are offered

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<sup>69</sup> That is, at University of Texas at Austin, HRC 79; conveniently edited in facsimile by Farmer, 'Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript with the Hand of Robert Herrick.' For other examples of 'From Katherins dock' amongst other Somerset libels, see Bodl. MS Don. c. 54, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>; Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fols. 17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>; Bodl. MS Rawl. D 1048, fols. 64<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>; and BL MS Egerton 2230, fols. 69<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>. For a run of Somerset libels without 'From Katherins dock', see MC16, pp. 37-38.

<sup>70</sup> Farmer, 'Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript with the Hand of Robert Herrick,' 60-79.

them.<sup>71</sup> In the course of its inclusion in a larger selection of texts, the evidence from this manuscript offers no guarantee that the poem had even been read. The force behind the transcription comes from outside the main locus of the manuscript's compilation. All the same, the manuscript includes within its miscellaneous contents a number of other libels, Raleigh, Cecil, Buckingham, and the Spanish Match, compiled by different hands: the more passive reception of the Somerset libels is an interesting lapse among a more active practice.

An alternative method of canonization, through the libel's inclusion among a more general range of texts copied *seriatim*, has a number of pertinent exemplars, of which the best known is probably the 'Thomas Smyth' manuscript at the Folger Shakespeare Library.<sup>72</sup> The libel on Howard – here with the variant first line 'At Katherins docke there launcht a Pinke' – is copied in a section of twenty-eight poems under the heading 'Satyres', the section in which all sixteen of the volume's libels are copied.<sup>73</sup> The other libels it compiles are various, and include two more on the Somersets,<sup>74</sup> 'The Lie', and libels on Raleigh, Dr Noel and Giles Mompesson. Other poems include some attributed to Richard Corbet, and curiously, love poems by Donne.<sup>75</sup> The transcription of 'From Katherins dock' in the 'Thomas Smyth' MS is again of a significantly different character. The political text remains resolutely political, marked with the title 'On the Lady Fran: Countesse of Sommersett'. But it has become one of several poems which form a corpus of texts appropriate for inclusion in a presentation-standard verse collection. Court politics hardly seems to matter as a motive to include or exclude a text from this miscellaneous context. Either commentary on the politics of court was of no value; or it was so commonplace that libels were an innocuous choice to make.

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<sup>71</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>72</sup> Folger MS V.a.103.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 66<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., fol. 68<sup>r</sup>; see *ESL*, F6, H7.

<sup>75</sup> Eckhardt argues that the inclusion of Donne's love lyrics in this section of the manuscript heightens the negative images of Howard; see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 90-91.

The presentational excellence of the Smyth MS is a feature among some the libel's chronologically later witnesses, and in particular the very latest – most likely copied out in the early part of the eighteenth century – BL Harl. MS 7316. This large volume, which may have been connected with Essex (the county) in the early eighteenth century,<sup>76</sup> is an example of a historically late verse miscellany collecting the libel. As carefully produced as the best of seventeenth-century miscellanies, it is for the most part written in one neat italic hand (fols. 1-160<sup>v</sup>); every page is carefully marked with generous red margins around 2-3cm from every edge, with some pricking for measurement (for example, at fol. 78<sup>v</sup>). Although now bound in a standard Harleian binding, its imposing size (21cm x 27cm) would surely have necessarily marked it as a fine object in its original binding. If not a professional product, it is certainly a text assured of its value and it is of professional, commercial standard.

A large portion of its contents are closely based on another collection of verse, produced around the 1680s, which in turn borrows heavily from an earlier seventeenth-century collection.<sup>77</sup> Each stage of the transmission of content between the volumes often involves some level of re-organization and re-ordering. Some of this is clearly intentional, as relevant materials are brought together; while both Harl. 1221 and Harl. 6038 include a copy of the libel 'The House of The Howards', it is only with Harl. 7316 that it is positioned with the other Somerset libels.<sup>78</sup> To a degree, this manuscript again demonstrates the complex interactions of *seriatim* and ad hoc copying that were used in verse manuscripts of this period, such as were discussed in Chapter 3. Even though this volume was clearly designed for a relaxed readership, conducted at a significant distance from the events themselves, the copying

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<sup>76</sup> BL MS Harl. 7316, fol. 201<sup>r</sup> has a poem by John Morgan of Matching, 'I ne'er could relish, Sir, for truth'. Huw M. Edwards, 'Morgan, John (1688–1733/4)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62912> (accessed September 10, 2011).

<sup>77</sup> BL MSS Harl. 6038 and 1221, respectively. The passage of the slightly anomalous text of 'From Katherins dock' from one to another is one clear sign that these manuscripts were closely related.

<sup>78</sup> BL MS Harl. 7316, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>, where it follows 'From Katherine dock' and 'I: C: V: R', 4<sup>v</sup>; see also *ESL*, H27.

still shows some basic engagement with the text. The readership might be more passive, but the copying still takes an active role.

The manuscripts of 'From Katherins dock', even with no attempt at organization or presentation, show us that the libel was copied in all sorts of different ways. Its reproduction seems to have been as at home in hastily written rough copies as in elegant and careful manuscripts. The diversity of the forms of the poems' witnesses matches the diversity with which libels were circulated across a wider spectrum: given that the convenient mass reproduction offered by print was unavailable, dissemination of libels offered opportunities for creative approaches to dissemination. However, it is possible to venture a narrative for the compilation of the poem that takes into account some of the nuances of the evidence that has been provided above. The earliest witnesses to the libel in books demonstrate a copyist's appropriation of a part of a book to the end of collecting poems and other texts on the Somersets. In these acts of 'ad hoc' collecting, an urgency and importance attached to the transcription of a particular small range of poems is signalled by the fact that those poems have instituted the decision to convert the book to that end.

Collections of Somersetiana – i.e., a collection of content on this particular theme – seem to have started happening at a relatively early stage, and relatively few texts transcribe only one libel on the Somersets. The earliest collections of Somersetiana are clearly collected ad hoc, with various texts aggregated together over a period of time; this much is demonstrated by the disorganization of such collections. But as those aggregations increase in sophistication, they mark a curiously double movement in the history of the reception of the libel. Collections of poems, papers, letters, treatises, and reports, together offering some kind of documentation of the events as well as commentary on them, surely suggest some kind of sustained interest in those events, and could easily facilitate forms of intelligent critical

analysis, beyond vitriol. However, when copied *seriatim*, and in a professional way, the books lose an element of amateurish enthusiasm that characterised earlier copying.

In the earlier collections of Somersetiana, the disorganization of the texts suggests that the appropriate texts were grabbed at numerous points, indicating engagement, even if a special mode of copying was not set aside for them. In later books, especially forms of the ‘verse miscellany’, that need to conceptually *convert* the blank space to the particular end of copying libels was made far in advance, when the book was first inaugurated as a site of copying poems and texts. This inauguration means that it is far easier for the libel to be copied, and the decision to do so is far less expressive of a vital interest than the earliest forms. The earliest appearances of the libel in books already prepared for the reception of texts is an important stage, and presents another category of texts with a good deal of variation within them. In a collection like MC15, the libel is still copied *ad hoc*, irregular with the rest of the content but nonetheless appealing. In later books, the poem is copied *seriatim*, with an individual status that is increasingly diminished.

There is a certain counter-intuitive dimension to this narrative, in that it equates an increasing popularity with a diminishing engagement. Mine is not an isolated example of this kind of interpretation. The self-defeating popularity of a remarkable text is a circumstance delimited elsewhere, and, in particular, elegantly imagined by the narrator of Lawrence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*:

As my life and opinions are likely to make some noise in the world, and, if I conjecture right, will take in all ranks, professions, and denominations of men whatever,—be no less read than the *Pilgrim’s Progress* itself---and, in the end, prove the very thing which *Montaigne* dreaded his *Essays* should turn out, that is, a book for a parlour-window;—I find it necessary to consult every one a little in his turn[.]<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 7. The reference is to the *Essays*, 2.5, ‘Upon Some Verses of Virgil’.

Montaigne's 'dreaded' anticipation is not so much of the popularity of his writing, as it is for the devalued reading that his *Essays* would suffer as a result of that popularity. The 'parlour-window' represents decency and decorum; its 'readership' is satisfied by the prominence of the book's display, and not on its committed reading and interpretation. Copied in its latest form into a volume also containing the poems of Rochester, 'From Katherins dock' could never achieve the same status of bourgeois decency as Montaigne feared. However, copied in the elegant book manuscript as it is, the libel is opened to a 'parlour-window' readership in a way that is inconceivable in its form as a separate, marginal record, or in its inclusion in miscellanies such as MC15, produced in a more ad hoc fashion.

Given the libel's relatively radical status, however, that passive reception is of some importance. In an odd way, it shows the 'progression of ever increasing popular politicization' over the course of the seventeenth century, which Bellany has recently argued against.<sup>80</sup> For Bellany, 'politicization' is marked by crowd violence and popular upheaval, typified by the murder of John Lambe in 1628. The 1630s saw relatively little action of this kind, before the events of Civil War in 1642. The continual reception of libels, however, suggests a kind of politicization that was not necessarily manifest in action, nor in the production of new libel texts. The collection of verse libels exemplify a kind of politicization that proceeded from the passive acceptance of radical political writing.

### *Analysis and Conclusion*

The evidence from manuscripts shows a compelling range of approaches to collecting 'From Katherins dock', from the margins of books, to transcription in a verse miscellany independently or collectively, and inclusion in some very elegant books. The very act of collecting the libel, as well as its composition and reading, demonstrates that some kind of

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<sup>80</sup> Alastair Bellany, 'The Murder of John Lambe: Crowd Violence, Court Scandal and Popular Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England,' *Past and Present* 200 (August 2008), 75.



popular political consciousness was forming in early- to mid-seventeenth century England. Just as in any study that draws serious attention to the prevalence of libelling, these manuscripts give another solid contribution to a 'post-revisionist' accounts of the early Stuart period: the conflicts of the mid-century were a long time coming, the offspring of widespread popular politics.<sup>81</sup> More specifically, some critics have regarded them as one feature of an early modern 'public sphere', in a reconfiguration of the work of Jurgen Habermas.<sup>82</sup> We could leave our conclusions there, as many have; yet with so many different sources behind us, it seems a little perverse not to try to describe and qualify the characteristics of seventeenth-century political engagement, as manifest in these manuscripts.

To do so is difficult: since libels are so consistently detached from individual writers, readers, copyists and any actions or mental processes, we cannot hope to explain exactly what the result of copying and reading libels were. Nonetheless, some instruction can be sought from models in eighteenth century French history, in which the significance of the consumption of libels has been debated at the highest level. One of the first to recognise the importance of French printed libels was Robert Darnton. Writing of the demand for *chronique scandalieuses* and other forms of libellous writing in 1780s Troyes, he suggests that the reading of them performed a vital function of 'desanctifying':

The political tracts worked a dozen variations on a single theme: the monarchy had degenerated into despotism. They did not call for a revolution or foresee 1789 or even provide much discussion of the deeper social and political issues that were to make the destruction of the monarchy possible. Inadvertently, they prepared for that event by desanctifying the symbols and deflating the

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<sup>81</sup> On revisionism and post-revisionism, see Ronald Hutton, *Debates in Stuart History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 42-45.

<sup>82</sup> As, for example, in Knowles, "'Songs of Baser Alloy'", 176; Bellany, 'The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libelling in Early Stuart England,' 144-67. See also James Loxley, 'On Exegetical Duty: Historical Pragmatics and the Grammar of the Libel,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69.1 (2006), 84-85. The concept of an 'early modern public sphere' is worked out at greater length in the essays included in Peter Lake and Steven C. A. Pincus, eds., *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

myths that had made the monarchy appear legitimate in the eyes of its subjects.<sup>83</sup>

Early Stuart libels like 'From Katherins dock' clearly parallel the later form in some important ways. They make no demands of their satirized subjects, nor do they explicitly call for anyone to rise in action against them; nor do they provide an attempt at any real kind of analysis or discussion of their common concerns. Yet the confrontation of 'high' personage with meagre opinion does suggest that they might perform some kind of desanctification or deflation of monarchy. The relevance of this argument for early modern England is attested by the various politically-conscious critics who have seen in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama a process of 'deconsecration' that would be necessary to the regicide of 1642.<sup>84</sup> One of the most important things, here, is that the authorial intention lying behind libels is fairly redundant: it is the consumption of the radical images, not the aims and objectives that were the motivation for their production, that make the difference.

Darnton's approach to libels has not gone unchallenged. A significant revision to his interpretation has been offered by Roger Chartier, who asks, 'does [Darnton's] view perhaps invest reading with a force and an efficacy that it may not have had?'<sup>85</sup> For Chartier, Darnton's narrative moves the potential for political change out of the hands of authors, and into the hands of readers. Chartier makes a challenge by pointing out that the libellous literature was consumed mostly in elite spheres, was highly ephemeral, and attracted polyvocal responses. His alternative narrative for this period is that

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<sup>83</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 147.

<sup>84</sup> Most notably expressed in Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders: on the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London and New York: Verso, 2005 [1983]), 42-82; Stephen Orgel, 'Making Greatness Familiar,' *Genre* 15 (1982), 41-48; and David Scott Kastan, 'Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37 (1986), 459-75.

<sup>85</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991), 82.

a new relationship between reader and text was forged; it was disrespectful of authorities, in turn seduced and disillusioned by novelty, and, above all, little inclined to belief and adherence. The new manner of reading was accompanied by the exercise – both on a large scale and in the immediacy of practice – of Kant’s ‘public use of one’s reason’ on the part of ‘private persons.’ Thus the crux of the matter is not the content of ‘philosophical’ books, ... but rather a new mode of reading that, even when the texts it took on were in total conformity with religious and political order, developed a critical attitude freed from the ties of dependence and obedience that underlay earlier representations.<sup>86</sup>

Crucially, then, the question ‘Do Books Make Revolutions?’ is answered with an enquiry into the modes in which they were read, mostly regardless of the material content of those texts. Revolutionary political change is presented in cultural terms, based in the ostensibly neutral forms in which readers engage their books. As expressed here, this model is properly Habermasian, corresponding closely to the terms laid down for the ‘basic blueprint’ of the public sphere.<sup>87</sup>

Chartier’s model has been obliquely adopted in studies of early modern English libels, though in a necessarily diluted form. Alastair Bellany, for example, places the practices both of production and reception in context when he imagines ‘a nation of scribblers and readers, *poking fun* ..., *railing* ..., *sifting* ..., *compiling* ..., and perhaps, in the process, constructing and engaging in a nascent public sphere and thus transforming themselves from subjects into citizens’.<sup>88</sup> A version of the argument specifically in response to verse miscellanies has been made by David Colclough. For Colclough, collecting libels and other political material into manuscript miscellanies ‘was, in fact, motivated in part by a desire to participate in civic culture and to make the kinds of claim for a right to free speech’ that are illustrated through

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<sup>86</sup> Chartier, *Cultural Origins*, 91.

<sup>87</sup> As summarised in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), 27.

<sup>88</sup> Bellany, ‘The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libeling in Early Stuart England,’ 62 (emphasis mine); though see also the greater scepticism of his earlier work, in Bellany, *Politics of Court Scandal*, 17. For more reflections on Habermas and the earlier seventeenth century, see Joad Raymond, ‘Describing Popularity in Early Modern England,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.1 (2004), 101-129.

his book.<sup>89</sup> A lesson in civics is taught primarily not by the libel alone, but when it is read and used in the context of a manuscript book:

libels are not merely copied for their lubricious insights into the private lives of public persons, but are used to amass opinion and information which may then be sifted by their transcribers. Thus compilers used their texts as something like a tool of political analysis.<sup>90</sup>

In the context of a monograph on ‘free speech’, this reading of libels is highly effective.

However, the texts that we have been studying in this chapter strongly suggest that libels were only rarely collected in ways that might encourage conscious ‘political analysis’; even in the cases where politics seems to be most at the fore, the reception of political texts is not a transparent process. As a separate cast into the papers of the Gell and Fane family, the collection of the libel seems permitted, not sought; in the ‘Herrick’ manuscript and Folger MS V.a.103, Somerset libels almost seem to have become part of the wallpaper of a poetic collection, rather than the expressions of any vital engagement with the text.

The independently-spirited copying of the libel in its early texts and MC15 show a kind of engagement that *was* somehow invested in the subject at hand, but in such a way that demonstrated a more consistent consideration of the government’s mores. Counter-intuitive as it may be, the fact that the libel could be copied with so little direct attention or care, suggests that British culture grew more saturated in politics as the seventeenth century wore on. The importance of copying libels seems not, then, to be in producing a body of angry John Feltons, nor manifest in specific acts of violence and disruption. Instead, their importance is in preparing a major portion of society for the new kinds of conflict of the mid-seventeenth century, against a court and King that could now be spoken out against. The kind of support that generates may be passive and unspoken, but vitally necessary for the purveyors

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<sup>89</sup> Colclough, *Freedom of Speech*, 199.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

of political activity.<sup>91</sup> To deny these the readers or copyists status as active critics or participants in political change is not to deny the importance of what work they did do.

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<sup>91</sup> Compare the remarks on university politics in Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, 1970), 42.

Chapter 5: Reading and collecting letters of the Earl of Essex

This chapter will present a study of the reception and collection of an exchange of letters between Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper (1540-1617) and his younger friend and social superior, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1565-1601). The two letters were most likely written in June or July of 1598, occasioned by Essex arguing with Elizabeth and removing himself from the court for a period of weeks. Essex's reply would have a significant impact on the way in which he was regarded even within his lifetime, and having circulated at some length ahead of Essex's execution in 1601, the two letters would go on to be among the most frequently copied texts in seventeenth-century collections of letters. The notoriety of these texts meant that they received manifest discursive print responses, consciously in speeches by Francis Bacon and commentary by John Speed, and, less consciously, by copyists in their titling of the letters; these took place within a wider field of discursive responses to Essex's actions at the end of his life. By studying these printed responses alongside manuscript collections, we can build up an effective understanding of the significance of the copying and collection of these letters in the early seventeenth century.

The importance of the letter texts to the perceptions of Essex's life in the early seventeenth century means that this chapter contributes to studies of the reception of Essex in

a wider cultural arena in the decades immediately following his death.<sup>1</sup> During his lifetime, clear allegiances and enemies had been established around Essex at court; after his insurrection and execution, such clear-cut allegiances became far more difficult to sustain. For example, while William Barlow's Paul's Cross sermon of 1 March 1601 can be correctly described as 'a high-profile sermon against Essex',<sup>2</sup> Barlow is still concerned to recognise his affection 'which I continued as intire unto him as any follower of his till his open fall.'<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, unambiguous praise of Essex was likely to get the author into trouble: in April 1601, a student of Christ Church College, Oxford, was imprisoned for delivering an oral declamation which included a defense of Essex;<sup>4</sup> and although Robert Prickett's panegyric *Honors Fame in Triumph Riding* (1604) was able to enter print, the author was still jailed for writing it (even though exactly who he offended is not clear).<sup>5</sup> Even Samuel Daniel's far more ambiguous *Philotas* (1605) was sufficient to have him brought before the Privy Council for its allegory of Essex.<sup>6</sup>

Memorialising Essex in any way was, then, a complicated and potentially dangerous business, and would often necessitate some careful footwork. Collecting letters and other prose texts appears to have been one way of keeping Essex in mind without any of the risks involved with authorship. The simple act of copying a letter could not be regarded as a

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<sup>1</sup> As typified by Maureen King, "Essex, that could vary himself into all shapes for a time": The Second Earl of Essex in Jacobean England,' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 2000, Maureen King, 'The Essex Myth in Jacobean England,' *The Accession of James I*, eds. Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), and Kevin D. Lindberg, 'A Torch Borne in the Wind: The Cultural Persona of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, The Ohio State University, 2001. Essex's reception from the later seventeenth century to the present has received a great deal more critical attention.

<sup>2</sup> Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565> (accessed September 24, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> William Barlow, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, on the first Sunday in Lent; Martij 1. 1600. With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex his confession, and penitence, before and at the time of his death* (London: Mathew Law, 1600), B4v; similar sentiments are expressed again at C4v. As cautious as the condemnation of Barlow's sermon was, Mervyn James cites one source that says it was 'very offensively taken of the common sort'. Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 462.

<sup>4</sup> King, 'Essex in Jacobean England,' 126–127.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 128–9.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Gazzard, "Those Graue Presentments of Antiquitie": Samuel Daniel's *Philotas* and the Earl of Essex,' *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 51.203 (Aug 2000), 423–50.

partisan or seditious act in the way that writing favourably about it would be. It is perhaps appropriate, then, that the 1598 letters are employed as key points for use in the interpretation of Essex's life and career. In the following, it is the letters' role as objects of close reading and scrutiny that I aim to present as being the key to their copying and collection into manuscripts.

The study of these letters necessarily begins by setting them in the context of Essex's biography, so far as it is possible to ascertain, and by setting out the importance and significance of the letter form for this particular moment of self-representation. We will then spend some time dealing with issues in the manifest reading of the letter, and with Essex more generally. The final part of the chapter will be devoted to the manuscripts of the Egerton-Essex correspondence.

*The Second of Earl of Essex: Absence and Self-Representation*

Essex first appeared at the royal court in 1585.<sup>7</sup> His rise to prominence was swift, and even by the later 1580s he had become a firm favourite of Queen Elizabeth. Although closely involved in government (he was appointed to the privy council in 1593), he distinguished himself through active service in a number of major military campaigns, in Portugal (1589), Rouen (1591), Cadiz (1596), and the Islands voyage (1597). After a disastrous term of service in Ireland in 1599, however, his fortunes started to go seriously awry. The denouement took place in January 1601, when he and a band of followers marched on Whitehall, with rather vague intentions to demand a hearing of his grievances from Elizabeth. Doing so led to his imprisonment, arraignment, and execution in February 1601.

Although Essex's career at court from the 1580s onward followed a basically upward trajectory, it also involved a number of instances in which he toyed with the 'royal favour that

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<sup>7</sup> For Essex's biography, see Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601).' For the last years of his life, there is currently no equivalent to the authoritative study of Paul Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).



was the very linchpin' of his progress.<sup>8</sup> Hammer remarks how the 'escape into solitude, followed by a new effort to recover his honour by some bold act' was an important recurring theme of Essex's career.<sup>9</sup> For example, in June of 1587, Essex's petulant dismay at Elizabeth's response to being in the company of the dishonoured Lady Dorothy Perrott led to his riding to Margate with the intention of joining the defence of Sluys. He was stopped from doing so, however, and was then very quickly rehabilitated to royal favour.<sup>10</sup> Ten years later, the poor reception that met the Earl on his return from the 'Islands voyage' in 1597 forced him to take an absence from court, spent at Wanstead. But again, he was soundly rehabilitated, as is indicated by his installation as Earl Marshall of England, a position which had previously lapsed, on the 28th of December 1597.<sup>11</sup> The symbolic value of these interactions is famously (though speculatively) commemorated in a poem the *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) compiled and partially authored by Francis Davison. There, Strephon is sent away from the court by Urania, who upon his singing a song 'receuies him againe into greater grace and fauour than before'.<sup>12</sup>

The reported events of 1598 that supposedly produced the exchange between Egerton and Essex are very much in keeping with this pattern, except that the 'escape into solitude' Essex attempted was ultimately followed not by increased glory, but augmented strife. The only source for the events is provided in the 1635 edition of Camden's *Annales*.<sup>13</sup> During a disagreement over who should be made the new Lord Deputy for Ireland, Essex turned his

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<sup>8</sup> Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, 56.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 61-62.

<sup>11</sup> Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex.'

<sup>12</sup> Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody, 1602-1621*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1931), 1.20. Rollins is duly circumspect about the relationship of this poem to Essex and Elizabeth: Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody*, 2.20. (For other oblique literary representations of Essex, see King, 'Essex in Jacobean England,' 4.) Andrew Gordon refers to 'the persistent theme of absence from Court, played upon in so many ... texts' prior to Essex's trip to Ireland; Gordon, 'Cypocopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,' 77-8.

<sup>13</sup> William Camden, *Annales, or, The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England. Contayning all the Important and Remarkable Passages of State, both at Home and Abroad during her Long and Prosperous Reigne*, trans. R. N. Gent (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1635). An incomplete version of *Annales* which only went as far as 1589 was printed in Latin in 1615, translated into French in 1624, and then into English (from the French) in 1625; the English edition of 1635 was the first to include the record of 1598.

back on the Queen ‘as it were in contempt, with a scornfull looke’, for which she ‘gave him a cuffe on the eare’. Essex then put his hand on his sword, at which point Robert Cecil stepped in to stop him going any further. Essex fled ‘in great discontentment’ from the court, and stayed away for some three months. The letter written to him by Thomas Egerton was, apparently, sent in that time.<sup>14</sup> Egerton advised Essex to ‘yield and submit’ to Elizabeth, in an attempt to prompt Essex to defer to the Queen and thus ingratiate himself with her again; instead, in his reply Essex violently rejected Egerton’s cautious and stoic advice, and persisted in casting himself as the injured party.

According to Camden’s account, Essex went on to achieve some kind of rehabilitation, though with nothing of the level of favour that he had seen previously:

within a little while after, he became more submisse, and obtained pardon, and was received againe of her into favour, who alwayes thought it was more honest to offend a man, than to hate him. Yet hereupon his friends began to feare shrewdly his ruine, who had observed, that fortune is seldome reconciled to her foster-children, whom shee hath once forsake; and Princes more seldome to those whom they have offended.<sup>15</sup>

The reconciliation was not complete, and left Essex in a weakened position; for Camden, as for the numerous historians who have dubbed this occasion the ‘great quarrel’, it was a point from which Essex could not make a return.<sup>16</sup> According to the influential assessment by Mervyn James, it was the moment at which late medieval ‘honour’ codes were broken.<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth had ‘submitted Essex to the unbearable dishonour which a publicly administered

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<sup>14</sup> Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1581 till her death. : In which the secret intrigues of her court, and the conduct of her favourite, Robert Earl of Essex, are particularly illustrated; From the original papers of Anthony Bacon*, 2 vols. (London: A. Millar, 1754), 2.388-393.

<sup>15</sup> Camden, *Annales*, 494.

<sup>16</sup> The occasion is referred to as the ‘Great quarrel’ in the contents page of Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, 1.xiv, though not in the relation of the events, 1.489-90; the phrase is used with inverted commas in ‘Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex.’

<sup>17</sup> John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 445.

woman's blow involved.<sup>18</sup> The letters are not merely an ancillary part of this shift, but make the case quite explicit. Essex, in his reply, wrote that 'I owe Her majesty the duty of an Earl and lord marshal ... but I can never serve as a slave or villein', effectively stating, as James glosses, 'that obedience could not be demanded beyond the bounds of honour'.<sup>19</sup>

In the last years of Essex's life, and for several decades after his death, the import of the events of 1598 was manifested far more by the content of the ensuing letters than by any broad awareness of the 'events' themselves – for which no evidence of knowledge exists prior to the account published by Camden in 1635. It seems very unlikely that the circulation of these letters happened by chance. Bacon would later remark that 'copies were lately dispersed by his followers',<sup>20</sup> but an attempt to shape a public image of himself was wholly consistent with similar attempts throughout Essex's life – in acts as much as in texts. As early as 1581, following a failed siege of Lisbon, Essex charged the gates on his own with an audacious challenge to the inhabitants 'to single combat for the honor of his mistress'. Events with such an obvious popular appeal were not lost on those back home in England, and received swift memorialization at the pen of George Peele.<sup>21</sup> Later, Essex would leave less to chance. After the Cadiz expedition, during which Essex 'had finally established himself as the central figure in England's war effort' in spite of Elizabeth's misgivings about the project in general, he attempted to ensure public support by 'by directing Henry Cuffe to write a "True relation" of the victory at Cadiz'.<sup>22</sup> His final attempt to vindicate himself was in his 'Apologie', impossible to print at its time of writing but circulated in a great many copies in manuscript. To have Egerton's letter with his own reply disseminated, would have been simply another act of this moulding and shaping.

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<sup>18</sup> James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, 445.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 445.

<sup>20</sup> Camden, *Annales*, 530.

<sup>21</sup> Lindberg, 'The Cultural Persona of Robert Devereux,' 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex.'

Furthermore, we should note that only a very minor fraction of Essex's epistolary output made it into widespread manuscript circulation, and even the most extensive of letter collections have numerically few texts from or to Essex.<sup>23</sup> For example, of the fourteen well-documented letters by Essex featured in the 'Francis Bacon Correspondence Project', twelve survive in just one copy. Only one seems to have circulated at any length, surviving in ten major manuscript letterbooks.<sup>24</sup> It significantly dates from 1600 and is designed to fulfil 'the intention of securing Essex's return to favour'; surely another effort to improve his public reputation.<sup>25</sup> All this suggests that it was not simply letters by Essex that were in demand by copyists and compilers, but those from particularly crucial points, and with particular aims to fulfil. Such an approach to the dissemination of letters seems entirely consistent with other contemporary courtiers: of Raleigh's 228 recorded letters, only eleven circulate to any kind of extent, and all of those are especially concentrated around the time of his anticipated and actual executions (in 1603 and 1618).<sup>26</sup>

*Letters in Early Modern England*

Using the epistolary form for this particular public statement was by no means incidental to its significance. Epistolary writing was enormously important in early modern England, and performed a number of distinctive (and often overlapping) functions – practical, literary, historical and archival – many of which are implicated in the Egerton-Essex exchange. Early modern commentators were not oblivious to the range of applications to which letters could be put, and one particularly effective catalogue of these uses is presented in a poem by James

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<sup>23</sup> There has been no successful attempt to edit Essex's correspondence since Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*. This volume is useful and indicates the manuscript sources of its letters, but does not satisfy our more rigorous archival needs.

<sup>24</sup> Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'", 320-321.

<sup>25</sup> 'Francis Bacon Correspondence Project', accessed through <http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/bacon/baconindex.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Latham and Youngs, eds., *Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, § 166, 168, 170, 172, 194, 201, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222.

Howell, printed as prefatory matter to the edition of his own letters, *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ* (1650).<sup>27</sup>

The first function of letters that Howell lists is their capacity to mediate friendships. They are ‘The life of Love, the Load-stones that by rare / Attraction make souls meet, and melt, and mix’ (ll. 1-2). The commonplace idea that letters are ‘the unique way of making absent persons present’ is here taken a step further, with the form facilitating a Platonic mingling of souls.<sup>28</sup> Importantly, the language of love and friendship would not, at this time, have been applied only to a strictly *personal* intimacy, and the same principle of embracing through the epistolary form could effectively apply to any significant relationship. Given the ‘key part played by “dyadic” (two-person) relationships in all aspects – “public” and “private” – of early modern life’,<sup>29</sup> their political and commercial implications were at least as important as the more personal variety, a point not missed by Howell:

Credentiall Letters, States, and Kingdoms tie,  
And Monarchs knit in lignes of Amitie;  
They are those golden Links that do enchain  
Whole Nations, though discinded<sup>30</sup> by the Main;  
They are the soul of Trade, they make Commerce,  
Expand it self throughout the Univers. (37-42)

Howell’s praise is extravagant, but underlying the hyperbole are the necessities of communication between distant parties that characterise early modern culture. A substantial

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<sup>27</sup> Printed in Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004), 8-9, from which all subsequent quotations are made. Also printed in Oliphant Smeaton, ed., *Familiar Letters or Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ* 3 vols. (London: Dent, 1903), 1.xv.

<sup>28</sup> Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton and Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), 150. The particular wording is found in a letter from Jerome to Nitias, which he applies to to Turpilus, and is printed in Erasmus, *Epistolæ Hieronymi* (Basel: Froben, 1524), 1.218.

<sup>29</sup> Jonathan Gibson, ‘Letters’, in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002); online ed., [http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405106269\\_chunk\\_g978140510626954](http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode?id=g9781405106269_chunk_g978140510626954) (accessed 12 September 2011).

<sup>30</sup> The *OED* does not have an entry for the verb ‘to discind’, but it is likely to be derived from the verb ‘to scind’, with the etymological signification of ‘*scind* □ *re*’, ‘to cut or divide’: see *OED* ‘scind’ and ‘scission’.

body of travel writing appeared in the form of letters,<sup>31</sup> and this correspondence facilitated communication across the newly expanded trading world. The details of how government and trade were enabled by letters are left to one side, but within the ‘lignes of Amitie’ and ‘golden Links’ are numerous communicative uses of letter-writing within ‘an essentially pragmatic activity.’<sup>32</sup>

Continuing on from the value of letters as acts of communication, Howell recognises the value they possess as a stable written testimony. Letters can ‘the Cabinets of Kings unscue, / And hardest intricacies of State unclue’ (13-14), and ‘Plots though moulded under ground / Disclose, and their fell complices confound’ (25-26). Understood in this way, the letters referred to retain a sense of intimacy and immediacy, their most important form being as a key to otherwise unknown events and plots from autograph copies. Yet around the time of Howell’s writing, letter texts of state were making their way into print, such as *The Kings Cabinet Opened* (1645) with letters of Charles I; *Cabala, Mysteries of State* (1653) with texts stretching back to the reign of Henry VIII, and its supplement *Scrinia Sacra, Secrets of Empire* (1654).<sup>33</sup> Such titles express a newly found interest in the making public of what was secret; the work they were doing was an important modification of the kinds of manuscript collections that had been copied for several decades previously. The transmission of letters by figures of major political significance and popular reputation were especially important in manuscript: texts by the second Earl of Essex, Walter Raleigh, and Francis Bacon all captivated

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<sup>31</sup> William H Sherman, ‘Distant Relations: Letters from America, 1492-1677,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66.3/4 (2003), 226.

<sup>32</sup> For many examples, see James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 151.

<sup>33</sup> *The Kings Cabinet Opened: or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the Kings Own Hand, and Taken in his Cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14. 1645*, Robert Bostock (London: 1645); *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the Great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles. Wherein Much of the Publique Manage of Affaires is Related. Faithfully Collected by a Noble Hand.*, (London: Printed for M.M. G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1653); *Scrinia Sacra, Secrets of Empire, in Letters of Illustrious Persons a Supplement of the Cabala: in which Business of the Same Quality and Grandeur is Contained*, (London: G. Bedel and T. Collins, 1654). On these volumes see Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter-Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark: Associated University Presses, 2005), 279.

the attention of copyists.<sup>34</sup> Such texts were often copied into dedicated letterbooks,<sup>35</sup> or more miscellaneous collections (as MC15 exemplifies). The relative permanence of language, again, was not lost on Howell, who waxed poetic on the matter:

Words vanish soon, and vapour into Ayr,  
While Letters on Record stand fresh and fair,  
And tell our Nephews who to us wer dear,  
Who our choice frends, who our familiars were. (65-68)

As a materialised form of communicative language, then, letters perform an important archival function: keeping track of memories and relationships that might have otherwise been lost. Although the retention of state letters in collections is the phenomenon more central to this chapter, letters of a more private nature appear to have been at least as important, as shown by the letter books produced by private individuals, who took extra care that the ‘fresh and fair’ writing was preserved in a convenient format.<sup>36</sup>

A majority of the functions that Howell lists are fundamentally for communication, regardless of whether the utility is best understood from the point of view of a recipient or an external reader. But he also recognises how useful letters were for more purely discursive writing:

Letters may more than History inclose,  
The choicest learning, both for Vers and Prose;  
They knowledg can unto our souls display,  
By a more gentle, and familiar way,  
The highest points of State and policy,  
The most severe parts of Philosophy. (43-48)

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<sup>34</sup> As described in Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 94-112. The transmission of letters in manuscript currently lacks a comprehensive survey, such as will be provided in James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (Forthcoming 2011).

<sup>35</sup> That compiled by John Hopkinson, for example, contains 201 letters (West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, 32D86/44). There is much to suggest that letters often circulated in big collections as part of the ‘Bacon letterbook’: Gordon, “‘A Fortune of Paper walls’”, 320.

<sup>36</sup> For an example see Frances Harris, ‘The Letterbooks of Mary Evelyn,’ *English Manuscript Studies* 7 (1998), 202-215.

In these cases, the letters' cultural work was in 'creating a sort of language in which a particular quality of written communication is palpable'.<sup>37</sup> The term *epistolae* could be taken as synonymous with modes of oral performance,<sup>38</sup> and writing letters formed part of basic schoolroom exercises in rhetoric.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, a host of literary, religious, and philosophical writings were presented in epistolary format even though there was no special imperative for them to be.<sup>40</sup>

Many of these distinct though overlapping functions of the letter are mobilised in the exchange between Egerton and Essex. Although the two men would have usually been in regular contact at the court, the fact of their writing to one another signifies the physical distance between them. The exchange was additionally marked by recourse to the language of friendship, with Egerton urging that 'If I haue erred it it is Error amoris not amor erroris' (MC15, 27<sup>v</sup>) – through the error of love and not the love of error – and signing himself 'your most readie and faithfull (thoughe vnable) poore frend'.<sup>41</sup> Yet neither Egerton's letter nor Essex's reply could, strictly speaking, be reduced to a mere communication. Carefully argued and rhetorically adept, using a selection of classical sources, both have the character of essays on the topics of obedience and the limits of government – and perhaps, even a manifesto of the Earl's stance. Additionally, the kind of publicity that these letters received – as we will see below – shows that they may be used to 'unscrew' and 'unclue' certain aspects of the Earl's stance on courtly matters.

### *Reading Essex*

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<sup>37</sup> Claudio Guillén, 'Notes Towards the Study of the Renaissance Letter,' *Renaissance Genres*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press 1986), 83.

<sup>38</sup> Schneider, *Culture of Epistolarity*, 30.

<sup>39</sup> Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, 22.

<sup>40</sup> The verse epistle (as typified in Donne) occupies a place between communication and literary production. Erasmus' carefully contrived *Epistolae aliquot selectae ex Erasmo per Hadrianum Barlandum* (1520) were presented as having the primary purpose of a schoolbook, see Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters*, 14-20. For an important prose libel presented as a letter, see Dwight C. Peck, ed., *Leicester's Commonwealth: The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and Related Documents* (Athens, OH: 1985).

<sup>41</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 61.



The diversity of functions that letters generally – and the Egerton-Essex letters particularly – perform gave plenty of reasons for them to be copied into early modern manuscripts. The letters of well-known political figures might have been copied ‘for historical interest or because of the glamour associated with fame’,<sup>42</sup> but letters (and other documents) assumed a potentially more important role in constituting the popular perception of such figures. The following section will move on to consider the reasons, so far as they can be gathered, why the exchange between Egerton and Essex mattered to its early readers. Doing so will provide us with a useful paradigm within which we can more effectively understand the many manuscripts into which the letters were copied and collected.

One of the more curious features of the early reception of the letters is the absence of a firm narrative structure with which to surround them. Early readers were clearly interested in the letters’ place in a known linear narrative, as exemplified in the their presentation in print by John Speed, and the work of copyists in assigning the letter to important moments in Essex’s life. But the importance of the two letters (and especially Essex’s) also transcends the narratives into which their copyists and printers attempted to place them. Given how Essex’s letter portrays his character in his response to Egerton, the end of producing a meaningful reading of the later letter (in particular) relied more heavily on its authorship by the Earl than its precise dating. While reading Essex in the early seventeenth century could be fundamentally ‘discontinuous’ – a mode consistent with typical early modern approaches to reading history, as described by D.R. Woolf<sup>43</sup> – this reading was in the service of a more integrated sense of his life.

Although the two letters were once ‘traditionally dated’ to the 15th and 18th of October, 1598, it is now more common to place them in the summer of 1598.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109.

<sup>43</sup> D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95-110.

<sup>44</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 417, citing Birch, *Memoirs*, 2.384 and 386; the dates of 15th and 18th August are given in Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, 1.498. Braunmuller gives a comprehensive

Early modern readers did not always feel any need to supply a dating, and a number of texts only specify their sender and recipient, such as ‘My *Lord* keeper to the Earle Marshall:’, ‘The L. keeper to the e. of Essex’ or similar.<sup>45</sup> The individual texts are not immediately commandeered into any larger moment, even if the same manuscripts copy the letters within wider collections of Essexiana. Some copyists show the limitations of their historical knowledge by producing exaggerations of these simpler titles: the copy made by John Hopkinson reads ‘Sir Thomas Egerton L. Keeper of the greate seale of England his letter of aduise to Robert Earle of Essex, Earle Marshall of England’, which inadvertently disregards Egerton’s own request to regard it as an opinion, and not advice.<sup>46</sup>

A number of sources for the letter do make some effort to put it into a more specific time frame relative to known events of Essex’s life. This might be very tentative, as in one copy in which Essex’s name is supplemented with the simple addition of ‘being then in resrainte’.<sup>47</sup> This most likely refers to Essex’s imprisonment under Thomas Egerton’s guard in October 1599, immediately following his return from Ireland; as Braunmuller writes, it would have been unlikely for Egerton to have written to Essex without any reference to their physical proximity.<sup>48</sup> Other manuscripts nonetheless make this connection, and the title ‘A le<sup>t</sup> of the L Keeper to the E of Essex being coommitted on his returne from Ireland’, or similar, is found in at least two manuscripts.<sup>49</sup> One copy from the Brotherton Library ratchets up the historical specificity with the title ‘A Letter from Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, Lord Keeper, to the Earl of Essex, relating to his actions in Ireland, and opposition to the Queen.

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account of the letters’, and conjecturally places them in the 15th and 18th of July. Hammer, ‘Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601),’ places the meeting recounted in Camden to the 30th June or 1 July 1598.

<sup>45</sup> MC15, 26<sup>r</sup>; BL MS Add. 48126, fol. 97<sup>r</sup>. See also Bodl. MS Rawl. D.1048, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, Folger MS V.a.321, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford 32D86/44 p. 232. A similar title is inscribed in Yale Osborn MS b 8, fo. 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Bodl. MS Don c. 54, 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 417.

<sup>49</sup> BL MS Harl. 677, 109<sup>v</sup>, and Huntington MS. HM 102, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>.

Dated 12th October, 1599'. The reply is dated to the 14th.<sup>50</sup> Most manuscripts that date the text keep it in 1599, but one outlier takes it another step further, placing Egerton's letter on 'ixth of Ianuary: Ano: Domini 1601', very shortly before Essex's insurrection.<sup>51</sup> Lacking the anecdotal historical knowledge that Camden's *Annales* would provide from 1635, it seems that copyists incline towards placing the letters at several key moments in Essex's history. Unlike the 'great quarrel', the return from Ireland and the rebellion were both monumental political events; it would have been difficult to imagine that a falling-out with such a violent response came from something so comparatively minor as an administrative argument.

The problems in the dating and historical position of the letters are further exemplified in the datings given by their earliest printing, in the 1611 *History of Great Britaine* by John Speed (1551/2–1629).<sup>52</sup> The letters are one of only eight or so complete texts that are inserted into the twenty-third chapter's narrative history of the reign of Elizabeth, which includes pertinent letters, poems, and declaration.<sup>53</sup> After the chapter reaches 1600, it reverts to a few years earlier to account 'what lamentable successe the height of his [Essex's] rise brought him', beginning with the (previously mentioned) return from Ireland, and proceeding through to his insurrection and execution.<sup>54</sup> After a brief introduction to the situation and firmly placing the action in mid-1599, the narrative shifts to Essex's return from Ireland 'priuately and vnaccompanied', omitting the details of his departure or his reception at home besides his 'now remaining in the Lord Keepers custody'.<sup>55</sup> The letter is finally introduced in terms of the discourses the two would be having, that

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<sup>50</sup> Brotherton MS Lt q 57, 4r.

<sup>51</sup> Folger MS V.a.164, 104r.

<sup>52</sup> Since the EEBO facsimile and transcript of the 1611 edition is incomplete, the following is based on John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans Their originals, manners, warres, coines & seales: with ye successions, liues, acts & issues of the English monarchs from Iulius Caesar, to our most gracious soueraigne King Iames* (London: William Hall and John Beale, 1614).

<sup>53</sup> Speed, *History*, 831–882.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 876–880; his return is previously mentioned on 874.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 877.

he was often and seriously dealt with, by that truly honourable and prouident Statist (of whom hee was intirely affected) somewhat to decline his lofty soaring, lest in mounting too high, he should melt his waxen wings against the hot Sunne, and not to suffer the sore to fester till it were past cure; to which purpose also he afterward wrote him a letter of pithy and sapient perswasions, out of the abundance of his well-wishing heart; the cobby whereof we held worthy to be heere presented.<sup>56</sup>

Notwithstanding, as Braunmuller notes, that ‘it seems unlikely that the Lord keeper should write a letter ... to a man staying in his own house, under his constant guard, without any reference to those facts’, all of this, along with a number of the manuscript copies,<sup>57</sup> prepares us for a dating to October 1599. Yet inexplicably, the letter of Egerton is dated to ‘Iulie 18. An. 1598’, fundamentally inconsistent with any of the historical facts with which it has been introduced. The undertakings in Ireland are not dated in Speed to 1599, but it would be possible to work out as much with reference to previous pages; so it is inexplicable why the dating to fifteen months previous would be given. After Essex’s reply, the narrative from 1599 is fairly swiftly resumed, with the assembling of a council with which to try the Earl.<sup>58</sup>

The simplest explanation is that the 18 July dating is a particularly bad typographical error. Alternatively, perhaps Speed happened to have a copy of the letter dated to July, but only had the popular narrative to fit around the Ireland incidents. Unable to produce an alternative set of events he simply fudged together the two distinct time frames. Either way, this rather removes the validity of Speed as an authority for the dating. It is not simply the case that ‘Speed need not be trusted implicitly’, but with blatant inconsistencies such as these, Speed is not sustainable as a reliable source.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 877.

<sup>57</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 417.

<sup>58</sup> Speed, *History*, 878.

<sup>59</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 417. Strangely enough, there are similar inconsistencies in the dating of the letters in Birch, *Memoirs*. The letters from Egerton and Essex are dated the 15th and 18th of October 1598, respectively (2.384-388); but additionally ‘The reconciliation of the earl of Essex to the queen was mentioned .... by secretary CECIL in a letter of the 3d of October’ (2.392).

Inconsistent as Speed may be in setting up the letters, the reading of the letters that he presents does not rely on their precise relationship to a contextual narrative. Although seeming to attribute Essex's grievances to the Ireland mission, Speed previously implied 'that some secret vnder-workings gaue fire to his passionate discontents, I doubt not, hauing seene his owne letters penned in that behalfe'; although these letters are not identified with the ones printed, it remains true that the 'vnder-workings', or obscure events themselves, are no more important than the manifestation of these 'passionate discontents'.<sup>60</sup> From the start, Essex is set up as a model, since the 'lamentable successe the height of his rise brought him' recommends him as 'the example of fortunes daliance, and of the unstayed felicity had in this life'.<sup>61</sup>

In the run-up to the letters themselves, Speed's text moves from a very specific narrative to a positing of the Earl as a far more general exemplum. In the quotation above concerning Essex's treatment at the hands of Egerton, and the reference to Dedalus and Icarus' escape from Crete (which may refer to a now lost dialogue between the men), the scene is set for the letters to have significance beyond the bounds of the an empirical and factual biography. The inverse progression, from the general example to the specific context, is enacted again:

The distempered humor discovering it selfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his settled discontent; and the danger of giuing way to violent passions, which not onely deprivue the wisest of the vse of their owne vnderstanding, but also blinde their eyes that they cannot see, nor apprehend the benefit of other mens faithful counsels.<sup>62</sup>

Speed shows that enjoying these vestiges of Essex's fame does not preclude critical judgements on his example, and he is again careful to utilise the letter for its value as an

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<sup>60</sup> Speed, *History*, 876.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 876.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 877.

exemplar. Significantly, both the condition of Essex's mind ('his settled discontent') and the generic general example to be drawn ('the danger of giuing way to violent passions') are argued by the text. And indeed, in this passage, it is the general argument that is drawn out of (or read into) the text which achieves greater importance. The function of the letter is not, in a strict narrative sense, historical or biographical, but lies instead in foregrounding wider issues in Essex's life as biography and example. The fact that Egerton's letter is further described as 'pithy and sapient perswasion', and 'the copy whereof we held worthy to be heere presented', suggests further that the letter could be prized here for its rhetorical value.<sup>63</sup>

There is a sense in which Speed's reading of the letters is an unofficial, recreational one. But a not dissimilar use of the letters appears to have been made in the most serious of contexts: Essex's trial at York House in February 1600. Possibly referring to this incident, Fulke Greville would complain that Essex's 'letters to private men were read openly, by the piercing eyes of an Atturtrie's office, which warrantes the construction of every line in the worst sense against the writer.'<sup>64</sup> Striking in Greville's complaint is the absence of any appeal to external evidence for Essex's innocence. And in the trial, the letter text itself certainly did take a very prominent position.

In Camden's account of the proceedings at York House in June 1600, Bacon's charges against Essex are summarised in a short paragraph: Essex 'had made the Earle of *Southampton* Generall of the horse'; he had been too liberal with knighthoods; he had taken his forces to Munster, thereby neglecting to tackle Tyrone; he 'had a conference with him [Tyrone] not beseeming the Queenes Maiesty, nor the dignity of a Lord Deputy', made the worse by its secrecy.<sup>65</sup> In Camden's account, at least, the letter to Egerton was reserved until the end,

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 877.

<sup>64</sup> Alexander Grosart, ed., *The works in verse and prose complete of the Right Honourable Fulke Greville, lord Brooke*, 4 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1966 [1870]), 4.157. Quoted in James R Siemon, "'Word Itself against the Word': Close Reading after Voloshinov," *Shakespeare Reread: the Texts in New Contexts*, ed. Russ McDonald (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 249, and subsequently quoted in Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'", 326.

<sup>65</sup> Camden, *Annales*, 530.

becoming the ‘centerpiece’ of the attack,<sup>66</sup> whose quotation and discussion is given at greater length than any of the preceding charges. As Camden relates:

All these points the Queenes learned Councell highly aggravated, producing out of his letters written above two yeeres before, (whereof copies were lately dispersed by his followers,) these short abrupt sentences: *No tempest is more furious than the indignation of an impotent Prince. The Queenes heart is hardened. Cannot Princes erre? Can they not wrong their subiects? What I owe as a subiect I know well, and what as Earl Marshall of England.* From hence they argued, as if he esteemed the Queene for an impotent Princesse, and voyd of reason, compared her to *Pharaoh*, whose heart was hardened, that she cared no longer for truth and Iustice, and as if he besides his fidelity, ought neither obedience nor thankfulnesse.<sup>67</sup>

At this point, the circumstances of the letter’s production are disregarded, with the mere fact of its authorship becoming the pivotal point. Yet interpretation is also central: the idea that Essex ‘esteemed the Queene for an impotent Princesse’ proceeds as an argument *from* the letter, and is not a statement taken directly from the letter itself. The critical interpretation of the opinions in the signed manifesto become paramount, possessing more forensic weight than any of the observed – but disputable – transgressions in Ireland.

Speed and Bacon (as reported in Camden) use the letter exchange between Egerton and Essex as an important vehicle for understanding Essex. It was all the evidence they needed for his planned treasons and personal characteristics: somehow, the letter does not seem simply to reflect a more general trend of malaise, but is actually constitutive of his fault. In doing so they participate in a tendency amongst early receptions of Essex to emphasise key documents and sources in the interpretation of the Earl’s Career. Barlow’s sermon, which condemns Essex only after a great deal of care, makes the claim that:

I will deliuer nothing vpon meere information and report, which is sometimes malicious, oft times parciall, at all times vncertaine, but what these eares of

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<sup>66</sup> Gordon, “‘A Fortune of Paper walls’,” 326.

<sup>67</sup> Camden, *Annales*, 530.

mine haue heard from his owne mouth in that two houres conference with him before his death, and these eyes of mine seene vnder his owne hand, and subscribed with his name, which since his death I humbly desired to see, which was both honourably and easily graunted vnto me, that I might speake nothing whereof I haue not by those two meanes certayne knowledge.<sup>68</sup>

Barlow's privileged position means that he is able to go one step further than Bacon and Speed and rely not only on documentary evidence, but on documentary evidence of which he himself has witnessed the production. Later, he stops in the middle of discoursing on Essex's religion, 'because it is not within his confession verball or written, to which I promised to stand'.<sup>69</sup>

A similar emphasis on the words of the Earl himself is manifest in a report of his confession written by Abdie Assheton, Essex's personal chaplain. Assheton, even while professing to 'speak nothing but truthe' in his record of the dialogue with Essex, seemed expressly concerned with the imminent reception of his patron's words.<sup>70</sup> Regarding Essex's newly discovered guilt, he explained:

he exagge = rated it with .4. Epithites, desyring god to forgive his – *Great*: his *Bloodie*: his *Cryinge*: his *Infectious sinne*; whiche woorde Infectious hee privately had explayned to vs, that it was a leprosie wch had infected farre & nere. /.  
These wordes are said to aggravate my lords offence, & therfore everie one should be content to take them at the shortest meaninge, and not to ratch them to the furthest.<sup>71</sup>

Assheton recognises the likelihood of misinterpretation and misrepresentation even as he reproduces the grave terms in which Essex expressed his culpability. His appeal, however, is strictly based on the exten of Essex's admission in the speech itself, without recourse to any other kind of evidence of re-inscription.

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<sup>68</sup> Barlow, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*, C<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., C4iii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 97, 105.

<sup>71</sup> From 'Docter Asheton his owne letter concerninge my Lorde of Essex', in Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 102. Ashton immediately proceeds to give his own reading of those 'Epithites'.



By visiting these examples in the reception of Essex's letters, and of his final acts more generally, it is possible to see a model of political and historical interpretation that is very different to our own. Instead of seeking extensive and comprehensive ranges of texts with which to assess Essex, and place him in some kind of continuous narrative, there was an important impulse to restrict oneself to closely reading a delimited text. When Fulke Greville complained of the critical reading of Essex's letters, it was the bias of the readers that he emphasised, and not their choice of sources. A willingness to read in this way meant that continuity of narrative was not a paramount interest for early copyists, and its absence surrounding Egerton's exchange with Essex did not seem to trouble his early commentators, whether they were attacking him (as did Bacon) or being comparatively sympathetic towards him (Speed).

In its way, this style of dealing with the Essex letter anticipates the kind of engagements that readers would have had with historical writing: as D. R. Woolf describes, they tended to read their histories 'for the example, the isolated episode, the portable anecdote, rather than end to end for a complete sense of the work.'<sup>72</sup> He goes on to state: 'The same habit of thought that arranged knowledge into commonplace books actually approached the reading of the texts from which those commonplaces were drawn with this in mind rather than, to borrow a phrase from Lorna Hutson, "reading for the plot."<sup>73</sup> The signed documents were enough to get an engaged view on the courtier's life. The ways in which early modern readers approached these texts meant that the absence of a continuous and linear narrative was no reason to feel any less than totally satisfied with the reading matter provided.

### *Manuscripts*

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<sup>72</sup> Woolf, *Reading History*, 104.

<sup>73</sup> Woolf, *Reading History*, 106. Woolf does not directly cite the work of Hutson, but presumably refers to 'Fortunate Travelers: Reading for the Plot in Sixteenth-Century England,' *Representations* 41 (1993), 83-104.

An account of the Egerton-Essex letters in manuscripts must rely on different kinds of evidence than that which has been used for the principally bibliographical readings of the previous two chapters. The physical form of manuscripts and styles of copying do remain vitally important, as do the more general contexts in which the letters were transcribed; the style of manuscripts the letters are copied in range from notebooks, to miscellanies and letterbooks with manifest interests in Essex amidst other copied texts, to volumes whose sole purpose is to transmit Essexiana. All the same, an assessment of copying styles tends to be a far less appropriate mode of analysis for the longer prose texts. Copies of letter-texts like those of Egerton and Essex would run over several pages in a quarto book, and unlike a brief epigram or libel, could never be undertaken without a quite considerable engagement of time and effort.<sup>74</sup> Also, as a result of their greater extent, the physical places in which the letters are copied tend to be less diverse than shorter texts.<sup>75</sup>

As a result of these characteristics, the evidence that we employ in this survey will be far more focussed on the scope and arrangement of material in collections than in previous chapters. The letters between Egerton and Essex are two elements from a relatively small corpus of Essexiana that circulated widely. Essexiana is a useful term to describe a group of writing by, to, or about the Earl, whether in letters, verse, or longer prose reports, and especially concerning the end of his life.<sup>76</sup> This is not a group of material that circulated collectively, unlike the 'Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the Late Lord

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<sup>74</sup> Incomplete texts are evidence for the strenuous nature of the task: see the discussions of MC15 and Chetham's Library MS A.2.23, below.

<sup>75</sup> That said, in BL MS Add. 38137, the 'Apologie of the Earle of Essex' and other letters related to Essex are copied at the back of a manuscript (in a hand different to the other texts), primarily made up of the diplomatic correspondence of the soldier and diplomat Henry Unton. I am grateful to Lizzy Williamson for this reference.

<sup>76</sup> The term is used since at least Steven W May, 'The Poems of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex,' *Studies in Philology* 77.5 (1980), 3-132. Not all collections include references to the final 'fall': the contents of National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 34.2.10 fols. 90-101, for example, 'are dateable to a specific period from the summer of 1598 to the summer of 1600': Gordon, 'Copycopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,' 68.

'Treasurer Cecil' that circulated in various forms after his death.<sup>77</sup> The texts that constitute Essexiana were copied and collected independently, sometimes aggregating into bigger groups, and sometimes copied *en masse* in larger scribal volumes.<sup>78</sup> Among these individual texts, the exchange of Egerton and Essex is probably one of the most prevalent: Walter Bouchier Devereux was perhaps exaggerating only slightly when he wrote that 'there are few collections without a copy of these two letters'.<sup>79</sup> Others include the letter by Essex written to Elizabeth often attributed to the end of Essex's time in Ireland in 1599 – a poetic composition that expresses serious fears for the future (with the incipit 'ffrom a minde delitinge in sorowe from spirittes wafted with passion');<sup>80</sup> the letter written to Elizabeth on his behalf by his sister, Penelope Rich, on new year's day 1601 ('Earely did I hope this morninge to have had myne eyes blessed with your majestes beawties');<sup>81</sup> and the exchange between Francis Bacon and Henry Howard.<sup>82</sup> Other texts that complement these include various accounts of Essex's trials in 1599 and 1601, poetry by Essex, and his 'Apology'.

Texts produced prior to Essex's fall were available to some extent through manuscript circulation, but never seem to have been copied or collected to anything like the same extent as those from the later period of his life. An unusual exception is a book of over two 200 letters copied and compiled by John Hopkinson.<sup>83</sup> Texts from the end of Essex's life do feature here, just as one might expect.<sup>84</sup> But it also includes a number of letters from

<sup>77</sup> Pauline Croft, 'A Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the Late Lord Treasurer Cecil ... In the Years 1608, 1609, and 1610,' *Camden Society, 4th series*.34 (1987), 245-318.

<sup>78</sup> Even those collections that seem most committed to bringing together texts and documents about Essex end up with surprisingly few texts, though some might be very extensive: for example, Folger MS V.a.164.

<sup>79</sup> Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, 1.499n1; see also Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'," 327.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted from MC15, 30<sup>v</sup>. As with the letters of summer 1598, it is not possible to give this letter a fully verified date or occasion. Its association with Ireland is suggested in Devereux, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, 2.68. I am grateful to Michael Gale for sharing with me his notes of some 13 manuscript copies of this letter, additional to that found in MC15.

<sup>81</sup> MC15, 29<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>; discussed in Daybell, 'Women, Politics and Domesticity: The Scribal Publication of Rich's Letter to Elizabeth I,' 111-30; Gordon, 'Copycopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,' 70-72.

<sup>82</sup> Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'," 329-331.

<sup>83</sup> West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford (WYAS), 32D86/44.

<sup>84</sup> WYAS 32D86/44 includes 'ffrom a mynde delighting in sorrowe' (pp. 23-24), and the Egerton-Essex letters (pp. 232-237).

considerably earlier in Essex's life: six involving 'mr secretary [William] Dauison' (*d.* 1608) including Essex's petition to James VI of Scotland on behalf of Davison from 1590, three letters of advice about going to Ireland, and another three and from Francis and Anthony Bacon.<sup>85</sup> However, it remains the case that the story of how the exchange between Egerton and Essex from 1598 was copied and collected coincides with that of how Essexiana more generally was copied and collected.

The place of Essexiana was not only amongst other letters. While we learn this from many manuscript collections themselves, it is also shown up in a note made by Francis Davison (1573/4–1613x19), of 'manuscripts to gett' (fig. 18). The Earl features importantly here, under the heading of 'Letters of all sorts. especially by the late E. of Essex.'<sup>86</sup> After this, we see that this particular set of letters is included as part of an increasingly wide variety of political literature, starting with 'Orations. Apologies. Instructions. Relations.', and moving on to 'Sports ^masks^ & Entertaynments, to the Late Queen. / The King. &c.' Moving further down the list interest widens even more, extending to 'Emblemes & Impresaes', 'Anagrams', and substantially, 'POEMS of all sorts', 'Diuine' and 'Humane' – with metrical psalms, 'Satires, Elegies, Epigrams &c.' by Donne and Jonson, and sonnets by Henry Constable. While it is rare to find the Egerton-Essex letters in a scheme of collection quite as diverse as this, we are able to trace the dynamics of their copying as documents ranging from the extremely fragmentary, to somewhat organised, to very organised.

Although wider collections of Essexiana are a fairly natural home for the Egerton-Essex letters, they could also be found more or less isolated from any related material. The Egerton letter alone is copied, without a title, in a book of legal notes now held at Chetham's Library; Essex's all-important reply is missing, except for the allusive title 'An answer thereunto'. Egerton's letter bears the elliptical signature of T: E. C. S (Thomas Egerton Custos

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<sup>85</sup> WYAS, 32D86/44, pp. 44-54, 55-63, 144-146 respectively.

<sup>86</sup> BL MS Harl. 298, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>.

Sigilli). Its appearance here is incongruous in the context of the rest of the volume, as it is one of only two widely-circulating letters that the book includes; the other, copied immediately before the Egerton text, is Walter Raleigh's letter 'to his wife the night before his Execution', written in 1603.<sup>87</sup> Here, the letters seem as divorced from any wider historical or biographical position. Mack records how the letters have been copied for their use 'as models for future imitation', and that is certainly a possibility here.<sup>88</sup>

Although Essex's reply to Egerton was sometimes copied on its own,<sup>89</sup> it is unusual for Egerton's initial text to be copied alone; when it does appear alone, it seems most likely to be a mistake: in the legal notebook from Chetham's, it is perhaps time rather than intention that has stopped the second letter from being copied. Another lone version of the Egerton letter is found in MC15, albeit this time within a fairly substantial batch of Essexiana, copied by several hands. MC15 opens with a long account of the Earl of Southampton and Essex's final trial, followed by a further substantial account of his Star Chamber hearing in November 1599, and then the Egerton letter, with the short title 'My Lord keeper to the Earle Marshall'. The copyist does not, in fact, manage to complete their transcription of Egerton's letter, and it ends abruptly with the request to 'accepte it (I beseech yow) as I mean yt, not as an advise, but as an opinion', lacking the longer valediction and signature that most copies possess. After the Egerton letter, the copyist is then distracted from this theme of Essexiana, going on to include a letter of condolence from Queen Elizabeth to Lady Norris (28<sup>v</sup>) on the death of her son in Ireland, in September 1597, though it returns to Essex with the famous letter from Essex's sister, Lady Penelope Rich, to Queen Elizabeth, petitioning on behalf of her brother on New Year's Day 1600 (29<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>). From the first account of the trial, up to and including the Penelope Rich letter, all of the texts were copied by the variable – but possibly professional – hand A.

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<sup>87</sup> Chetham's Library MS A.2.23 (unpaginated); printed in Latham and Youings, eds., *Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, §172.

<sup>88</sup> Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 109. For another manuscript in which the letter is more copied aloof from other material, see BL MS Harl. 677.

<sup>89</sup> Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'", 327.

The manuscript's Essexiana continues all the same, in the potentially professional hand B which contributes only these prose pieces to the volume. Hand B's contributions include Essex's letter 'To her Majestie' (30<sup>v</sup>, 'ffrom a minde delitinge in sorowe'), a rare letter from Lord Mountjoy to Essex (supposed to have been written, like that of Egerton, in July 1598), and an exchange between Bacon and Henry Howard (32<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>), in which Bacon started to 'distance himself from Essex' at the end of 1599.<sup>90</sup> Other letters by Raleigh follow (in hands C and D). The copying and collection of the Egerton letter occurs in MC15, as in many manuscripts, within a bigger trend of copying texts concerning Essex, in turn within a trend of copying courtiers' letters.

A slightly more unusual way of copying the letters as part of an interest in acquiring knowledge of Essex is shown in Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 1048. The book opens with the 'Apologie of the Earle of Essex' addressed to Sir Anthony Bacon (3<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>), one of many copies of this text to have been made in the early seventeenth century. The Egerton letter and its reply from Essex follow (26<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>), then a 'Breefe relacion of severall speeches' from the 1599 Star Chamber trial (31<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>), and the same for the final arraignment of Essex and Southampton in February 1601 (though here the date is given as 1600, 36<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>). These extracts from the longer accounts found in MC15 and elsewhere are followed by a much longer relation of 'The indictmentes wherevpon the Earles of Essex & Southampton' were arraigned (29<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>). Subsequently, much of the remainder of the manuscript's content is unrelated to Essex, though after some poems by Richard Corbett (51<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>), a list of 'Knights made at Calies' by Essex are given (55<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>). Other texts include epigrammatic verses (59<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>v</sup>); a set of Somerset libels (64<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>); state speeches and letters from the 1620s (71<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>); and libels on the Spanish Match (76<sup>r</sup>). Towards the end of the book Essex-themed writing in various forms are engaged with once more, including notes on William Barlow's sermon against Essex at Paul's Cross in

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<sup>90</sup> See Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'", 329-330.

March 1601 (81<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>); an account of Essex's execution (82<sup>r</sup>-83<sup>r</sup>); and notes on Essex's servants (88<sup>v</sup>).

The striking feature of Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 1048 is how it embodies engagements with the topic of Essex that are the domain of readers as much as copyists. The full range of its contents includes many texts that circulated widely, including the Essexiana. But features such as the notes on Barlow's sermon, the lists of the Cadiz knights, and the notes on Essex's servants, are by no means common complements to the copies. The manuscript demonstrates more palpably than many how Essex could be the subject of sustained historical interest, in a way that went beyond the acquisition of elegantly written semi-literary texts. While the historical notes and texts it puts together might not be 'complete', they are clearly working towards a comprehensive knowledge of the topic.

The notoriety of the Egerton-Essex exchange was such that copyists did not require a strong commitment to the collection of Essexiana to have the letters in their manuscript. This is especially true in more general collections of Tudor and Stuart letters, which can range in size from the relatively modest, to the extremely extensive. One 'Colleccion of many learned letters' copies the Egerton and Essex letters in inverted order as the last of 10 letters in an unbound folio collection, in an almost unreadable secretary hand.<sup>91</sup> Other Essexiana in the collection includes letters from Elizabeth to Essex and Penelope Rich's petitionary letter to the Queen from 1601, amongst far more general letters relating to late Elizabethan politics. In another volume of seventeen letters, the Egerton-Essex correspondence is the only example of Essexiana, in a volume concerned with politics under Elizabeth and James.<sup>92</sup> They turn up regularly in larger letter collections, on the same kind of scale John Hopkinson's letterbook,

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<sup>91</sup> Beinecke, Osborn fb 117, pp. 19-22.

<sup>92</sup> Beinecke, Osborn b 8. For a third 'small' volume of letters into which the Essex-Egerton exchange are compiled, see Brotherton MS Lt q 57.

but a more interestingly miscellaneous collection in which they show up is Folger MS V.a.321.<sup>93</sup>

As in MC15, Folger MS V.a.321 opens with a substantial batch of Essexiana, starting with the Egerton correspondence (1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>), followed by a list of accusations against Essex from the Star Chamber trial (4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>). Then follows a letter from Essex to Elizabeth of indeterminate dating (5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>), the letter from Penelope Rich to Elizabeth (6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>), the correspondence between Howard and Bacon (8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>), and a rare speech by Robert Cecil against Essex from February 1601 (9<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>).<sup>94</sup> The final document in this series is another rare text, an account of Essex's confession delivered to his clergyman, Abdie Assheton, shortly before his execution (11<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>). No other texts in the manuscript have any direct relation to Essex. This volume is particularly interesting for its inclusion of many letters that are anonymous and undated (for example, those at 25<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>v</sup>), those that are by extremely obscure figures, such as Peter Ferryman, and those by very well-known people – including some in unique witnesses. The engaged and extensive copying of highly topical materials occurs alongside items that have no obvious news-worthy value.

At least four manuscripts of various sizes compile the Egerton-Essex correspondence in collections that are devoted exclusively to Essexiana. Two of these, Rosenbach MS 444/27 and Folger MS V.a.164, demonstrate especially pertinently different ways in which such material could be presented.<sup>95</sup> More so than many of the other manuscripts summarised here, these manuscripts seem to demand uses in particular ways.

Rosenbach MS 444/27 is a small, slim, quarto volume, bound in pale vellum with a green ribbon tie still attached to the rear cover's outer edge. All of its contents were copied in

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<sup>93</sup> Edited in a convenient facsimile edition by A.R. Braunmuller, as *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS V.a.321*.

<sup>94</sup> Braunmuller notes its similarity to other texts, but is unable to provide any alternative witnesses; Braunmuller, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book*, 419.

<sup>95</sup> The others include BL MS Royal 17 B L and National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 34.2.10, the latter of which is the basis for Gordon, 'Copycopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,' 65-81.



an elegant professional hand, with the one exception of a final poem copied in a later hand (and not on the topic of Essex). It begins with a letter from Essex to Elizabeth ('my dutifull affection to your maijestie allwayes soe oueraymed', 2<sup>r-v</sup>), and it goes on to include 'Considerations touchinge the Peace now in Speche' (4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>),<sup>96</sup> a poem by Essex ('There was a tyme when seellye Bees coulde speake', 12<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>),<sup>97</sup> Essex's correspondence with Egerton (13<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>), and the longest text, Essex's 'Apology' (19<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>).<sup>98</sup> Each text is neatly spaced with blanks of between one and three sides, a technique which may itself be a 'display of conspicuous consumption'.<sup>99</sup> Given the overall elegance and luxury of the material presentation of this manuscript, an argument that this was intended for a personal, recreational usage seems very reasonable.

In contrast to this modestly elegant book dedicated to Essexiana, is Folger MS V.a.164, 'one of the most extensive collections of texts relating to Essex's treason trial.'<sup>100</sup> The title page gives a rough outline of the contents, which include 'The manner of the proceedings of Robert Earle of Essex', 'The Speeches of Ro: Earle of Essex', 'Letters, together with their answeres, sent vnto the Earle of Essex', 'Diuers Speeches against the Earle of Essex and his proceedings in Ireland'.<sup>101</sup> Letters are in a minority here, with only three copied: the Egerton-Essex exchange (104<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>), and Penelope Rich's letter to Queen Elizabeth (120<sup>r</sup>-123<sup>r</sup>). The volume does include some of Essex's poetry,<sup>102</sup> but the emphasis seems to be on the history and politics of Essex's life. Like the less extensive collection of texts in Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 1048, the eloquently penned letters are complemented with a range of materials that are far

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<sup>96</sup> This text possibly refers to the peace with Spain in 1598, and is also found in Folger MS V.a.164, 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> On 'There was a tyme...' see Steven W. May, 'The Poems of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex,' *Studies in Philology* 77.5 (1980), 109-110.

<sup>98</sup> Other, unrelated texts have been compiled in a later hand at 1<sup>r</sup> and 41<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks,' 213.

<sup>100</sup> Gordon, "'A Fortune of Paper walls'," 327.

<sup>101</sup> Folger MS V.a.164, 16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> 'A repentant Poem made by Robert Earle of Essex' ('ffrom silent night true register of moanes'),

more purely ‘documentary’ in their character: the list of Essex’s collaborators it copies, for example, would serve informational ends before any others.<sup>103</sup>

These two very different volumes give us an apt indicator of the distinctive uses to which the same identical letters could be put. It is impossible to overlook the fact that the letters between Egerton and Essex are rhetorically sophisticated and adept,<sup>104</sup> like many other example of Essexiana – the ‘extraordinary example of Essex’s passionate style’ given by the letter from Essex in Ireland (‘ffrom a minde delitinge in sorowe’),<sup>105</sup> for example, need not have been copied and read for anything other than recreation, and not information. Reading Essex in manuscripts can, to a large extent, remain divorced from facts that stand outside of the realms of literary or rhetorical excellence, as in the kind of collection proposed by Francis Davison. The same texts could still be used for documentary evidence, just as Francis Bacon had in June of 1600, and as in a number of other manuscripts. Copyists of Essex were able to implement the Egerton-Essex exchange to a significant diversity of functions and uses in their manuscript collections.

### *Conclusion*

The diverse evidence assembled in this chapter for the reception of Essex’s letters in print and manuscript makes clear how important the correspondence between Egerton and the Earl were for the representation and memorialization of Essex, both during and after his life. Not merely documents of biography, the letters were a fundamental means of reading and constructing the life of a subject. Andrew Gordon is correct to write of ‘the influence and importance of letters as a medium for the construction and representation of reputation.’<sup>106</sup>

The centrality of letters in the reception of Essex potentially owes a great deal to the absence

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<sup>103</sup> ‘The names of all such persons, as were apprehended for partaking with Robert Earle of Essex; and how they were distributed into seuerall prisons’.

<sup>104</sup> As demonstrated by Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 119.

<sup>105</sup> Gordon, ‘Copycopia, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study,’ 77.

<sup>106</sup> Gordon, “‘A Fortune of Paper walls’,” 336.

of other written forms that might perform a similar role (for example, detailed histories or biographies), but their importance was also surely owing to a great deal to the versatility with which they could be received by readers. However partisan a letter could be, its reading did not need to be so; an interpretation for or against could be advanced from the same source. But while it was possible for letters to become ‘a tool of political analysis’ (in Colclough’s phrase), a letter could equally well be read without needing to come to any kind of politically interpretative conclusion, but could be taken for the quality of its writing. Thus of the speeches in favour of Cecil that circulated after his death, Pauline Croft admits that ‘the impact on public opinion of the material contained in these documents, as they circulated for well over a decade among the politically aware, can only be guessed at.’<sup>107</sup> In the case of the Earl of Essex, the question of the impact of his letters is besides the point. Whatever he had hoped to achieve by the circulation of these outspoken texts, they went on to be a point of reference in manuscript collections, that could feed in just as easily to positive, negative, and neutral construals of Essex’s life. The Essexiana of manuscript collections offered an important alternative way of looking at Essex’s life that would not be found in later printed accounts. The brief census of copies of the Egerton-Essex exchange that this chapter has given in brief shows, instead of an linear narrative, collections of Essexiana accumulate a series of momentary articulations, each of which can be read effectively independently of one another, as they do all together.

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<sup>107</sup> Croft, ‘A Collection,’ 256.

Chapter 6: The Davison psalms and scribal publication

This chapter presents a study of a set of fourteen metrical psalms attributed to Francis and Christopher Davison (1573/4-1621, and b. 1581 respectively). Although they received no early publication in print, the versifications have been reasonably well-known over the past two hundred years, printed as they were in many nineteenth-century anthologies of religious verse aimed at popular audiences.<sup>1</sup> Further interest in them has been stimulated by the leading role in their composition played by Francis Davison, the compiler of the *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602), which ‘has been seen as one of the most influential and valuable Elizabethan miscellanies, the last of its kind’.<sup>2</sup> The psalms appear to have been mostly written in the early 1610s, but very little evidence for their circulation in manuscript survives before the 1620s, when the scribe Ralph Crane (fl. 1589-1632) copied in at least three volumes of religious poetry, two of which were targeted at patrons. Most probably as a result of Ralph Crane’s celebrity as a named scribe of the early seventeenth century, discussions of the Davison psalms have dealt almost exclusively with the Crane manuscripts, thereby neglecting to take account of an additional

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Robert Aris Willmott, *Lives of Sacred Poets*, 2 vols. (London: J. W. Parker, 1834); Edward Farr, *Select Poetry, Chiefly Devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1845); and Giles Fletcher, *Christ’s Victory and Triumph*, ed. W. J. Brooke, Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature ed. (London and New York: 1888). Probably following one of these volumes, the version of psalm 86 by Francis Davison – ‘To my humble supplication’ – was set to music by Gustav Holst.

<sup>2</sup> The remark is made by Richard McCoy, ‘Francis Davison and the Cult of Elizabeth,’ *The Reign of Elizabeth*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 223; the standard edition is Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody, 1602-1621*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1931). For an earlier edition that includes the psalms, see Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, ed., *Davison’s Poetical Rhapsody* (Kent: Lee Priory, 1814).

two manuscripts – MC15 and Bodleian Rawl. D. 316 – in which the psalms are copied.<sup>3</sup> These two manuscripts ought to alter our understanding of the psalms, especially the way we should conceptualise the place of the Davison psalms within a wider culture of psalm production and consumption.

Thus far this thesis has given attention to relatively few of the modes of what Harold Love called ‘scribal publication’. The reasons for this are largely to do with the evidence afforded by each example; many of the copies of epigrams, libels, and letters were made through ‘user publication’, with transcriptions produced by interested amateurs. Some manuscripts probably copied by professionals have been discovered, but they have often offered no possibility of assessing or evaluating the conditions of their production beyond the manuscripts’ most immediate circumstance. In this chapter, by contrast, the existence of the Crane copies of the Davison psalms presents an opportunity to engage with the work of a professional scribe. Taken together with the more amateur-appearing copies of those texts, the sources for the Davison psalms offer the potential to enter into dialogue with and contribute significantly to the contemporary understanding of a ‘psalm culture’ that has, for the most part, been mostly located in print.<sup>4</sup>

In order to work most effectively with the manuscript texts, this chapter will begin by outlining a more general hypothesis about the way in which the different media of manuscript and print interacted in the production of early modern metrical psalms. The extensive printing of psalms, especially in the form of the *Whole Book of Psalmes*, or ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ psalter, seems to have dominated almost all of the market for the form: not only did alternative psalters fail to thrive in print, the form similarly struggles to find a popular audience in manuscript. Our work on the Davison psalms in particular will begin with an

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<sup>3</sup> Neither text has lacked acknowledgement: in Grosart’s edition of MC15, the authorship of the psalms was clearly recognised; and the poems in Bodl. MS Rawl. D 316 were indexed in Margaret Crum, *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> The recent work of Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [2004]) is based almost entirely on print sources (with the exception of the Sidney psalter).

assessment of their place in the life of Francis Davison, who seemed conscious of the audience for metrical psalms and potentially keen for his own to achieve some popular acclaim. We will then describe and discuss the intentions of Crane in his well-known manuscripts, before comparing them to the previously undiscussed texts of MC15 and Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316.

More than in any of the previous chapters, the kinds of sources brought together by an ‘object study’ in manuscript psalms facilitates what could legitimately be described as a study in manuscript dissemination. To some extent, we are in a position to assess how a certain group of texts was dispersed. While the key manuscript sources for this chapter represent a range of different styles of copying, the fact that metrical psalms were published so extensively in print provides the opportunity to consider the kinds of effects that a ‘literary culture’ – or more specifically, ‘psalm culture’ – produced across the different media.

#### *Writing and Publishing Metrical Psalms*

The Book of Psalms held an important place in early modern culture for reasons that were both intellectual and practical. To Reformation theologians the psalms were fundamental, described by one commentator as ‘almost an entire summary of [the Bible] ... in one little book’,<sup>5</sup> with an evangelical import, ‘spreading abroad and setting in motion the holy Gospel which now, by the grace of God, has again emerged’.<sup>6</sup> Practically speaking, psalm translations (and especially versifications) were useful in worship both individually and collectively. As much was recognised as early as the first edition of *The Whole Book of Psalms*, the ‘Sternhold

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 534.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 22. For more on the theoretical/theological significance of the book of psalms, see Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 39–44.

and Hopkins' psalter, first printed in 1562.<sup>7</sup> The *Whole Book's* title page advises how the Book of Psalms are 'Very meete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort'. The volume goes on to include 'A treatise for the vse of the Psalmes' by the church father Athanasius (A.D. 296x298-373), which states that 'It it easy... for euery man to finde out in the Psalmes, the motion and state of his own soule', while presenting an extensive list of difficult circumstances that could be satisfied by use of the Psalms. Most of these circumstances relate to the individual consciousness (though rarely exclusively so): 'If thyne acquaintance persecute thee ... thou hast the thirde Psalme', 'If thou hast suffred a false accusation before an euill kyng', 'Yf thou aske mercy of God', and so on, for six and a half pages. Two additional pages on 'The vse of the rest of the Psalmes not comprehended in the former Table of Athanasius' underscore the importance of this list.<sup>8</sup>

The *Whole Book* was equally invested in the value of Psalms for communal use. Its first introductory address 'To the reader' is a guide to the sight-reading of the musical notation printed, given so that

the rude & ignorant in Song, may with more delight desire, and good wyl: be moued and drawen to the godly exercise of singing of Psalmes, as well in common place of prayer, where altogether with one voyce render thanks & prayses to God, as priuately by themselues, or at home in their houses.<sup>9</sup>

The public expression of praise is for 'common place' as much it is for solitude, amongst strangers or the family and household at home. The edition goes on to provide all of the tunes necessary for the singing of psalms, and as such it is enormously useful as a tool of collective worship.

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<sup>7</sup> This volume comprised of the handful of poems composed and printed in the late 1540s by Thomas Sternhold, together with the additions of John Hopkins from the 1550s; see Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 506 and references.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into Englysh Metre by T. Starnhold I. Hopkins & Others: Conferred With the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to Synge them Withal, Faithfully Perused and Allowed According to Thordre Appointed in the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions* (London: John Day, 1562), ✕iii.v<sup>v</sup>- A.iii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., ✕ii<sup>v</sup>.

The demand created by the communal functions of metrical psalms was primarily met through printed books, and most particularly, through the *The Whole Book of Psalms*, which was by far the most popular version throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It went through an astonishing 482 printed editions between 1562 and 1640, presented in many different formats.<sup>10</sup> While this seemed to satisfy much of the demand for psalms, its ubiquity was responsible for stimulating the printing of further metrical psalters, including those of Henry Dod (1620), George Wither (1632), George Sandys (1636), and Henry King (1651), some of which were published with the specific aim of replacing the often lacklustre and clunky versifications given by Sternhold and Hopkins. None managed to do so: the melodies of *The Whole Book of Psalms* quickly achieved an easy familiarity, while the new psalters were simply unable to make sufficiently satisfactory improvements to warrant cultural upheaval.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast to the varied audiences to whom *The Whole Book of Psalms* promoted itself, metrical psalms and psalters that survive in manuscripts are often far more oriented towards individual meditative practices. For many, it was composing psalms as much as reading them that was salutary, as in the role of *The Whole Book* for ‘people priuately for their solace & comfort’. The task was taken up with a peculiar frequency by prisoners, who might be particularly in need of what solace psalms could provide. As Molly Murray describes, John Glanville (1585/6-1661) began writing a metrical psalter in prison, as ‘an experiment in compensatory forms of coherence.’<sup>12</sup> His completion of the task as a service to his wife was a testament to his love for her and the earnestness of his spirituality:

it pleased God to touch my hart with remembrance of a speciall desire of yours . . . that I might and would take some good opportunity to finish the wholl book before I died, which desire of yours (I acknowledged) drew from me a promise to indeavour the same, and I became thereuppon so stirred up in spirit that I resolved to proceed in the work with effect, and (if I lived to

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<sup>10</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 509, who tabulates their uneven distribution by decade. By 1696 there had been ‘over 700 editions of all shapes and sizes’, according to Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 38.

<sup>11</sup> Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 50-52.

<sup>12</sup> Molly Murray, ‘Measured Sentences: Forming Literature in the Early Modern Prison,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72.2 (June 2009), 164.



accomplish it) then to bestow it on you, as a better testimony of my love then myne uxoriall which I gave you in my youth.<sup>13</sup>

In this scheme, the only importance of publication is that which allowed the psalms to reach Glanville's wife; anything beyond that is superfluous. Indeed, seeking any wider fame for the task would seem almost inconsistent with the task itself. Psalms may not have been the only literary form that could give rise to this kind of sharing activity,<sup>14</sup> but a number of other unique manuscript psalters (by prisoners and non-prisoners alike) suggest that the composition of psalms in manuscript was employed as an intimate and personal devotional exercise.<sup>15</sup>

Important as individual devotion was as a motive for authoring manuscript psalters, the limitations such a motive places on ambition does not fully explain the relative lack of manuscript psalters in widespread circulation in the early modern period. While not all authors were keen to keep their manuscript psalters to themselves, the proliferation of copies was fully outside the knowledge or control of the author, and was dependent on an engaged and interested copying public – as scholars have understood since the work of J.W. Saunders.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript psalter of Sir John Harington serves as an important example of a text that the author wished to spread widely without success. The evidence for the psalter survives in some early drafts of the versifications in Harington's autograph;<sup>17</sup> a complete psalter with

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<sup>13</sup> BL MS Egerton 2590, fol. 4, cited in Murray, 'Measured Sentences,' 163.

<sup>14</sup> As a fair-copy autograph from the 1640s, dedicated to his wife, Nicholas Oldisworth's manuscript of lyric poetry is comparable in its social function: see Gouws, ed., *Nicholas Oldisworth's Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24)*.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, the manuscripts of Thomas Smith, BL MS Royal 17.A.xvii, printed in Bror Danielsson, ed., *Thomas Smith: Literary and Linguistic Works, Part I: Certain Psalms or Songes of David, Translated into English Meter, by Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, then Prisoner in the Tower of London, with Other Prayers and Songes made by Him to Pas the Tyme There* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963); of John Stubbs, BL MS Harl. 3230; and the anonymous, much corrected, Beinecke Osborn MS b 217, whose version of psalm 104 is attributed to 'the Lady Amy daughter of the E. of Castlehaven' on p.79. For the reference to Stubbs, as well as to Professor Murray's essay, I am indebted to Dr Christopher Burlinson. Some metrical psalms from manuscript have been lost, such as those of Joshua Sylvester, referred to by Francis Davison in BL MS Harl. 298, 159r.

<sup>16</sup> J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor poetry,' *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951), 153.

<sup>17</sup> BL MS Egerton 2711 and, unknown to Schmutzler but recorded by Beal, drafts of, 1, 3, and 4 in BL MS Add. 27632, 33<sup>r-v</sup>, and drafts of 42 and 50 in BL MS Add. 49369, 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>.

annotations with ‘a great many minor corrections in a hand that bears a marked resemblance to Harington’s’,<sup>18</sup> and a further ‘beautifully written’ scribal copy, probably taken from the corrected manuscript.<sup>19</sup> It is also recorded that Harington sent three psalms to Mary, Countess of Pembroke.<sup>20</sup> Varied as the forms of these manuscripts are, they have in common a relatively close proximity to Harington; they do not appear to have been transmitted outside of a range delineated by his own efforts. So far as we can tell from the evidence that survives, no other readers took enough interest in Harington’s Psalms to produce their own copies. Nonetheless, Harington’s exertions in attempts to publish the psalter were not inconsiderable, and even extended into a desire to see them in print. As he disclosed in a letter to King James:

I desire ere I dy to have this revenge to see the work published to gods honor and the kings, having no thought of any privat ambition to my selfe, and doubting greatly least if I dy the rashnes of som, and zeale of gaine rather then of godlines, will precipitate the publishing of them, which I would as much as I could prevent by your graces good favour.<sup>21</sup>

Harington would have learned from the illicit 1615 printing of his epigrams to be wary of pirated copies of his works. Given that there was enough interest in Harington to have his epigrams printed *without* his desire, it is surprising that his authorial interest in the matter was not enough to somehow push the volume into wider circulation. ‘Gods honor and the kings’ would find plenty of attention from other sources; and the ‘zeale of gaine’ was unlikely constitute an alternative motive, given how very available and familiar the other psalters already were. It is difficult to determine exactly why Harington’s psalms never managed to circulate effectively in either manuscript or print. On the one hand, the form of the metrical psalm was quite limited in its creative scope, making real innovation hard to achieve; and, on

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<sup>18</sup> This is Bodl. MS Douce 361, as described in Karl E. Schmutzler, ‘Harington’s Metrical Paraphrases of the Seven Penitential Psalms: Three manuscript Versions,’ *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 53 (1959), 249.

<sup>19</sup> Ohio State University, Department of English, Spec. MS Eng. 16. Schmutzler, ‘Harington’s Metrical Paraphrases,’ 249-50.

<sup>20</sup> Schmutzler, ‘Harington’s Metrical Paraphrases,’ 241.

<sup>21</sup> N. E. McClure, ed., *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), 143. Quoted in Schmutzler, ‘Harington’s Metrical Paraphrases,’ 242.

the other, the uses of psalms were sufficiently reliant on familiarity and tradition to instil a mild conservative hostility to anything replacing the already established versions.<sup>22</sup> What ‘ready market’ for metrical psalms there was – to use JW Saunders’ phrase – was more or less entirely satisfied by the printed medium,<sup>23</sup> with that ‘greatest best-seller of all’ *The Whole Book of Psalmes*.<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to see how a market for manuscript psalters could really gain any ground in such a situation.<sup>25</sup>

While there seems to be no difficulty in finding unique manuscript psalters, it is much harder to find any evidence for their proliferation in further handwritten copies. The relatively common production of psalters, as well as the restrictions on producing stylistically adventurous new metrical texts, seem likely to have something to do with the dominance of print in creating and satisfying the demands of early modern ‘psalm culture’. Such a situation bears comparison and contrast with other early modern poetic forms. For example, the sonnet sequence is best remembered as a ‘print genre’, owing to the quantities of them that went through the presses in the 1590s.<sup>26</sup> Collectively these masses of relatively easily accessible variations on a very limited form more or less put a halt to manuscript as a useful medium for their dissemination; as Marcy North writes, ‘sonnet sequences, especially those longer than twenty sonnets, did not circulate broadly in manuscript.’<sup>27</sup> But a number of short, unique sequences that have shown little sign of the extensive circulation that could be achieved through manuscripts can still be found in certain manuscript texts.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the more

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<sup>22</sup> Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> For the ‘ready market for [the courtier poet’s] work among the printers’ see Saunders, ‘The Stigma of Print,’ 140.

<sup>24</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> One of the few manuscript psalters to circulate in any kind of quantity, that of Mary and Philip Sidney, was probably sufficiently innovative to command a certain attention.

<sup>26</sup> Marcy L North, ‘The Sonnets and Book History,’ *A Companion to Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. Michael Carl Schoenfeldt (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 206.

<sup>27</sup> North, ‘The Sonnets and Book History,’ 215.

<sup>28</sup> For example, those in Cambridge University Library Hh 3.8, discussed in Coatalen, ‘Unpublished Elizabethan Sonnets,’ 552-65; Chetham’s Library, MS A.4.16, pp. 6-8; those of King James in BL MS Add. 22601, pp. 1-8; and the parodies in the ‘Gulling Sonnets’ of MC15. Unique as these examples are, none are likely to be from holographs.

general genre of lyric poetry did not become readily established in print in England, as it did on the continent.<sup>29</sup> As a result, many lyric poets (Raleigh, Hoskyns, Donne, later Corbett and Strode) circulated freely in early modern manuscripts, in a market that had almost no monopolising influence from print.

Evidence close to the main author of these psalms, Francis Davison, suggests that they were composed for an audience and a marketplace of readers. That none of the five surviving manuscripts containing the psalms are authorial or directly connected to the Davisons (unlike the psalters of Harington and the prison writers) may alone be indicative of the success of Davison's early intentions, and of his ability to write poems which could transcend the difficult orthodoxies which might thwart the production of novel metrical psalms.<sup>30</sup> However, what conclusions we might draw are pulled in different directions by the quantity and qualities of these five manuscripts. For example, three of the manuscripts were produced by a single scribe, Ralph Crane, who copied them under conditions of significant financial hardship; his difficulties might begin to imply that what popularity the Davison psalms did achieve was the outcome of his persistence, and not of the demands of an interested market. The Crane manuscripts have to date been the main source for studies of the Davison psalms, but two further manuscripts remain, in which the psalms are presented in collections far more varied and amateurish. Yet even in these manuscripts, the method of the psalms' copying remains the work of outsiders, possibly professional, whose real investment in the work and the volumes is highly questionable.

The addition of two manuscripts to the previously known manuscripts of the Davison psalms may not, ultimately, put us any closer to a definitive statement of the psalms' popularity, nor of their relationship to a 'psalm culture' in which their production and popularity were mediated by a range of forces. However, by assembling all of this evidence

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<sup>29</sup> Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 209-290.

<sup>30</sup> For a guide in following the course of this chapter, a table of the five manuscripts is presented in Appendix 5.

together, we will realise that the Davison psalms circulated more widely, and in more varied ways, than has previously been imagined.

*Francis Davison and the Literary Market*

Given the relevance of authorship to understanding the composition and circulation of metrical psalms in manuscript, it is especially necessary to assess the psalms' place in what we know of the lives of Francis and Christopher Davison, two of the three sons of Catherine and William Davison (d. 1608). Of Christopher, little besides his birth is known; he was seven or eight years younger than Francis, and less than a year older than his brother Walter, with whom Francis would collaborate in the *Poetical Rhapsody*.<sup>31</sup> But for Francis, the metrical psalms were one of a number of forays he made into the literary marketplace throughout his life. Although his relationship to the metrical psalms is evidenced through sources that are patchy and incomplete, it is nonetheless possible to understand him as an intelligent purveyor of poetic writing.

Born in 1573, Francis matriculated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1586 (aged 13), and went on to attend Gray's Inn in the early to mid 1590s.<sup>32</sup> Like many students from the Inns he does not seem to have taken a longer-term interest in the practice of law; during his time there, he distinguished himself through acting in revels and by writing and acting in the 'Masque of Proteus', an important early masque.<sup>33</sup> After 1595, he travelled in Europe, sponsored by the Earl of Essex; but these journeys were not terribly successful, and after another attempt to study law 1597 (this time in Padua), he returned to England by 1598 without having much to show for himself except for a 'Treatise on the State of Saxony', sent to Essex in 1596. An equivalent treatise on Tuscany was expected, but never delivered.

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<sup>31</sup> Simon Adams, 'Davison, William (d. 1608),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7306> (accessed September 19, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> For Davison, see John Considine, 'Davison, Francis (1573/4–1613x19),' in *ODNB*; online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7300> (accessed September 19, 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), chapter 1.

By the early 1600s, Francis' recorded activities show how he continued to seek patronage and employment in ways quite different than the occupation for which he is now famous. Such employments appear to have ended in 1602, when he was a secretary to Sir Thomas Parry for a few months. In this same year he printed the volume for which he is now best remembered, *A Poetical Rhapsody: Diuerse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigals, Epigrams, Pastorals, Eglogues, with other Poems, both in Rime and Measured Verse. For Varietie and Pleasure, the Like Neuer Yet Published*.<sup>34</sup> This collection of verse stood in a tradition of printed collections of miscellaneous verse that began with Richard Tottell's *Songs and Sonnets* (1557), which included verse by Davison, his younger brother Walter, and some by more widely known authors (such as Philip Sidney, the countess of Pembroke, and Edmund Spenser) that Francis insisted the printer had inserted, against his own wishes. It would go on to be reprinted in 1608, 1611, and 1621, though it is likely that only first edition was produced under his direct guidance.<sup>35</sup> His other literary productions seem fairly minor by comparison to this unusual collection and included a 1603 broadside of anagrams on the names of famous persons,<sup>36</sup> a ballad called 'The Counterskattle' which was attributed to him in manuscript and printed posthumously in 1621 with many subsequent editions,<sup>37</sup> and an epigram 'On Painted Ladys' dated to 1615.<sup>38</sup> The psalms were similarly produced in Francis' maturity, given the dating in one manuscript of versions of the sixth and thirteenth psalms to 1611 and 1612.<sup>39</sup>

Very little evidence connects the Davison psalms with their authors; no accounts of their writing survive, nor any autograph manuscripts. However, several more fragmentary pieces of evidence tell us something of the planning and knowledge that went into writing the

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<sup>34</sup> Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody*.

<sup>35</sup> For a thorough analysis of the four different editions, see Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody*, 4-24.

<sup>36</sup> Francis Davison, *Anagrammata in Nomina Illustrissimorum Heroum...* (London: Simon Stafford, 1603).

<sup>37</sup> For 'The Counterskattle by Mr Francis Dauison' see Bodl. MS Don. c. 54, fol. 58<sup>r</sup>, printed as *The Counter-scuffle* (London: Printed for William Butler, 1621).

<sup>38</sup> 'On Painted Ladys' is found in MC15, fol. 50<sup>v</sup> and is dated and attributed to Davison in Bodl. MS Tanner 169, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. D 316, fols. 126<sup>r</sup>, 127<sup>r</sup>. The attributions are unusually specific, putting the thirteenth psalm on the 8th of August 1611, and the sixth on the 13th July 1612.

versifications, and, importantly, suggest the ways in which Davison was conscious of an audience and market for his poems. The plan for the psalms' composition was hinted at as early as the preface to the *Poetical Rhapsody*, in which he concluded: 'thy mislikes I contemne, thy praises (which I neither deserue, nor expect) I esteeme not, as hoping (God vvilling) ere long, to regaine thy good opinion, if lost; or more deseruedly to continue it, if alreadie obtained, by some grauer worke'.<sup>40</sup> While the 'grauer worke' could, as Hyder Rollins suggests, refer to Davison's planned *Relation of England* (of which only fragmentary notes survive),<sup>41</sup> there is good reason to suppose that the phrase refers to the psalms. As an early modern poet, Davison would not be exceptional in turning from secular to sacred poetry later in his life.<sup>42</sup> This was the career trajectory of John Harington, George Herbert, John Donne, and Joseph Hall as well. When George Sandys wrote his metrical psalter, Falkland offered the praise that 'thou hast / Diverted to a purer Path thy Quill, / And chang'd Parnassus Mount to Sions Hill'.<sup>43</sup>

If the 'grauer worke' mentioned in the *Poetical Rhapsody* does indeed portend a versified Psalter, the hopes of what its writing would achieve are markedly different from the kinds of intentions previously described in this chapter. Davison hoped that his later work would regain the 'good opinion' of his readers: the work is intended to reflect directly back on him, unlike Harington's self-effacing (and possibly dubious) claim that his psalms were solely for 'gods honor and the kings'. From the start, additionally, he seems to have had the plan of having his 'grauer work' published, whether in a strong sense (i.e., at the hands of printers or scribes), or in a weak one (hoping for the best through amateur manuscript circulation).

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<sup>40</sup> Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody*, 1.6.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.96.

<sup>42</sup> The idea of this kind of turn has appealed to critics over a long period of time: for example, Willmott, *Lives of Sacred Poets*, 38.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 66. The narrative of conversion is commonly figured in Elizabeth prose romances: see Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1976).

Davison's knowledge of the range of manuscript Psalters seems to have been unusually keen, as is shown by the list of 'Manuscripts to gett' in his own hand (previously discussed in Chapter 5).<sup>44</sup> There, psalms get a billing high in the 'POEMs of all sorts', 'Diuine' and 'Humane'. He desires the metrical psalms of the Countess of Pembroke, as well as those of Joshua Sylvester, John Harington, and Joseph Hall.<sup>45</sup> Whether he intended to produce a new compilation of religious poetry, building on the success of *A Poetical Rhapsody* or was interested for more personal reasons, we cannot say; but it is clear that his interest in psalms went well beyond a standard range of references.

Davison's investment in the project of psalm writing is signalled not just by the work he put into researching the field, but also in the effort he appears to have made in revising the poems. Of the five manuscripts of the psalms now extant, four (the three copied by Crane, along with Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316) share a single textual tradition, from which the texts MC15 differ in potentially significant ways. We will here take the versification of the sixth psalm, attributed to Francis, as an example.<sup>46</sup> In this psalm, a number of variants in punctuation appear in the transcriptions by Crane, especially the introduction of parentheses<sup>47</sup> and some curious hyphenations.<sup>48</sup> Crane is known, however, for adding parentheses to his copy-texts, and these variants are likely to be purely scribal and almost certainly not authorial.<sup>49</sup> MC15's variants are more substantial. Where most texts read 'faulty', MC15 has 'poore sinfull' (l. 3); for 'Lord serene thyne Eyes oreclouded',<sup>50</sup> MC15 gives 'Lord. Thyne eyes are clouded' (l. 19). In these variants, the sense of each phrase is not significantly altered, but there are other cases in which it is. For example, lines 16-18 in Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316 are given as

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<sup>44</sup> BL MS Harl. 298, fol. 159. Heaton reads this list as a signal of Davison's interest in the market for entertainments; Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, 116.

<sup>45</sup> The psalms of Hall and Sylvester do not appear to have survived.

<sup>46</sup> The variants between three manuscripts of these psalms are tabulated in Appendix 6. Bodl. MS Rawl. poet. 61 is taken representative of the three Crane transcripts.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 61, 9<sup>v</sup>, '6. Psalme' ll. 6, 7, 9, 19, 35, 57.

<sup>48</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 61, 9<sup>v</sup>, '6. Psalme', ll. 7, 15, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38.

<sup>49</sup> See also T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Ralph Crane's Parentheses,' *Notes and Queries* New Series 12.9 (September 1965), 334-40.

<sup>50</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316; the Crane texts keep the same words with heavier punctuation.



How long shall I bee neglected  
How long from thy sight reiected  
Still; (Iehouah) still

whereas in MC15 they read:

How long shall poore I afflicted  
from thy sight be interdicted  
still (Iehouah) still

Exactly which was Davison's original phrasing is not clear. At line 3, the substitution of 'sinfull' for 'faulty' certainly intensifies the sentiment (l. 3), while the changes in line 19 are more likely to address issues in metre. The three lines are certainly a re-working, though it would be difficult to argue that the anaphora that appears in the majority of manuscripts is intrinsically superior to the enjambment of the MC15 text.

We can summarise what we know of Francis Davison in relation to his psalms as follows: he stated in 1602 his intention to use some 'grauer worke' to ingratiate himself to his audience; he was familiar with the metrical psalms that were available in the hand-written medium; and he was careful enough in the writing of his own psalms that he seems likely to have subjected them to a process of revision. From these pieces of evidence it seems very likely that he desired them to receive some degree of public attention, whether in manuscript or print. Yet at the hands of amateur copyists, they seem to have travelled to only a very limited degree, like his epigram 'On Painted Ladies' and the manuscript copy of 'The Counterskattle'. The psalms needed the hands of a professional like Ralph Crane to achieve most of their fame.

When Ralph Crane selected and transmitted the Davisons' metrical psalms, the psalms began to perform a whole new set of social functions. Crane copied them at the end of his life, in something like the turn to religion of early modern poets; but whereas for many poets that would imply an equivalent shunning of worldliness, for Crane it was a desperate grasp for material well-being from would-be patrons.<sup>51</sup> Transmitting the psalms was, for Crane, significantly invested with motives of self-interest. He therefore undertook several strategies to ensure that the texts would be as well received as possible, including declaring emphatically their scarcity, elevating the name of Davison, and presenting them in books that were elegantly copied and bound. The need for these measures seems to be almost a form of anxiety over the relative lack of market value of the metrical psalm translations, whose scarcity was a result of the public indifference with which they had been greeted for the decade since their original authorship.

By the time he turned his attention to religious manuscripts, Crane had copied all of the manuscripts for which he is now best known, all undertaken in the 1610s and early 1620s.<sup>52</sup> Starting with Ben Jonson's masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), he went on to copy Fletcher and Massinger's *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619), and, notably, several copies of Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624).<sup>53</sup> At the same time, he was responsible for producing at least five copies of the *Seaman's Glossary* by Henry Manwaring between 1619 and 1625. One last dramatic transcript is known from this period, of Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe* (better known as *The Humorous Lieutenant*), which was sent to Kenelm Digby in November 1625.<sup>54</sup> Around this time, he is also reported to have experienced significant difficulties in

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<sup>51</sup> The same is true of John Bouchier: see Victoria E. Burke and Sarah C. E. Ross, 'Elizabeth Middleton, John Bouchier, and the Compilation of Seventeenth-Century Religious Manuscripts,' *The Library* 2.2 (2001), 145-149.

<sup>52</sup> For all the interest in the surviving Crane manuscripts, much of the scholarly interest in him revolves around the manuscripts we no longer have: for example, T. H. Howard-Hill, *Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972).

<sup>53</sup> BL MS Lansdowne 690, Bodl. MS Malone 25, and Folger MS V.a.231.

<sup>54</sup> Now National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn 42; see F.P. Wilson, 'Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players,' *The Library* 7 (1929), 201 and plate I.

employment; as he claimed in an autobiographical poem printed in 1625 'I (too old to cry about the street / Work for a Writer) no Employment meet'.<sup>55</sup>

In these straitened conditions Crane went on to copy six volumes of religious writing between 1626 and 1632, most with the explicit end of attracting the attention of patrons.<sup>56</sup> The Davison psalms were one set of religious texts from many that Crane copied in this scheme. Other texts find their only known copies in Crane's hand: one prose text, an anonymous prose exposition on 2 Kings 7:2 titled 'The Faultie Fauorite', is uniquely witnessed in its Crane transcription.<sup>57</sup> Two are slim volumes devoted to the poetry of William Austin (1587-1634), whose poetry appears as well in two volumes that also include psalms.<sup>58</sup> In the three manuscripts in which he copied the Davison psalms, the psalms appear in an incomplete metrical psalter composed of the fourteen Davison psalms along with psalms attributed to somewhat more obscure figures – 22 psalms by Joseph Bryan, two by Richard Gipps, and one by Thomas Carey.<sup>59</sup>

The rarity of the religious texts that Crane copied is one of their common features, and one that his work would depend heavily on; unlike a full-fledged author with some sense of the circulation of his or her works, it would be difficult for the purveyor of texts already published in the scribal medium to guarantee novelty to a prospective patron. An especially striking example of this challenge is presented in the volume that Crane addressed to the lawyer Sir Francis Ashley (1569-1635), intended as a New Year's gift and dated to December

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<sup>55</sup> Ralph Crane, *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift, or, Fourteene Steps to the Throne of Glory* (London: n.p., 1625), A2<sup>r</sup>; this complaint was not registered in the earlier work of which *The Pilgrimes New-Yeares-Gift* was a re-hash, namely Ralph Crane, *The Workes of Mercy, both Corporall and Spirituall* (London: G. Eld and M. Flesher, 1621). The earlier versions had carefully produced individual dedications to patrons. See Wilson, 'Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players,' 197. On Crane, see also T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589–1632),' *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6605> (accessed August 31, 2009), and Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 189-195.

<sup>56</sup> For a reliable account of these see Wilson, 'Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players,' 199-201.

<sup>57</sup> Huntington MS EL 6870, addressed to John, Earl of Bridgewater, and dated to January 1631.

<sup>58</sup> BL MS Add. 34752 and Bodl. MS Rawl. D 301.

<sup>59</sup> These figures from Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 61.

1632.<sup>60</sup> As with all of Crane's manuscripts of his late period, the dedication to Ashley contains an urgent statement of need, here expressed in his request that the volume be thought '(for Age, Afflication, Greif and Want tell Me, it will be so) the Vltimum, Vale of Him that honorrs your Name'.<sup>61</sup> Following this general plea, Crane takes care subsequently to tailor the dedication to Ashley.<sup>62</sup> He recognises Ashley's profession of lawyer, and mentions the would-be patron's commitment to both the 'Law-Temprall' and 'Law-Theological'.<sup>63</sup> More pertinently, Crane spells out his existing connection to Sir Francis Ashley: earlier in his life, Crane had been a clerk for Sir Anthony Ashley (1551/2-1628), Sir Francis' brother.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, writing four years after Sir Anthony's death, Crane requests that the texts he sends be thought of 'as Memorials, that He was once to your deceased Brother an Vnfortunate Seruant; Still for your Worthy Self.'<sup>65</sup>

These attempts to evoke Sir Francis' sympathy and charity surround Crane's claims for the value of the contents of the volume. He writes of the book:

I call nothing myne-owne but only the  
Manuscription: yet having obseru'd that Cookes haue  
sometimes byn will [= well?], and thanckfully esteem'd, meerely for  
ordering and setting forth of other mens Dishes, I am the  
rather encouraged to hope the like Successe to theis Rarieties.  
I call them Rarieties, as well in regard of their Vertu=  
-ous-Method, as of their In-Communitie, (there not being  
three such any where extant; and not one (vnles sur=  
reptitiously gotten) out of my Pen:)<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> BL MS Harl. 3357.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Francis Ashley does not seem to have acted as a patron of many printed books, so it seems as though the personal connection is especially important here; in contrast, another of Crane's targets, George Calvert, had at least four books dedicated to him, but did not apparently have such a close connection to Crane. Franklin B Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses In English Books Before 1641* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1962), 31.

<sup>63</sup> BL MS Harl 3357, 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Crane, Ralph (fl. 1589-1632)'. Crane also made a more extensive memorial to Sir Anthony Ashley's daughter, Lady Anne Cooper, in a slim volume of William Austin's poetry. See Bodl. MS Rawl. MS D 301, fols. 2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> BL MS Harl. 3357, 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 2<sup>r</sup>.

While the term ‘Rarities’<sup>67</sup> condenses the qualitative sense of something ‘Unusually good, fine, or worthy’ (*OED*, ‘rare’ 5.a) and the quantitative sense of something ‘characterized by infrequency of occurrence; occasional’ (*OED*, ‘rare’ 3.d), it is the latter signification that is specially emphasised. Crane cannot take any credit for the texts’ composition, but he may take credit for discovering and disseminating them through his ‘manuscription’, a task that stands out all the more for the strangeness of the word itself. His role as a copyist comes into its own with the psalms: should they be commonly available, his writing skills would compensate much more for the possibility of his patron’s familiarity with the texts.<sup>68</sup> The unusual term ‘In-Communitie’ evokes something of the limits on circulation supposedly imposed by the ‘stigma of print’, of which Drayton famously complained that ‘nothing [is] esteem’d in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by transcription’.<sup>69</sup>

We have no real way of properly guessing from where Crane acquired his copy texts, which had to that point so conveniently evaded more widespread circulation. Not only does he seem a figure rather divorced from any sustaining institution at the end of his life, but he is also coy on the sources of his poems. In another manuscript, written to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore (1579/80-1632), he wrote of some poems by William Austin:

Theis Meditations. from a holy Pen,  
(the Dajes and Subjects holy both) oh, when  
(by a bless’d holy chance) they came to Me,  
I did be-thinck what holy vse might be  
impose’d on them:<sup>70</sup>

Victoria Burke and Sarah Ross respond pragmatically that ‘it is likely that [Crane’s copy texts] came via the Inns of Court and their literary circles,’<sup>71</sup> but Crane’s professions of the texts’

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<sup>67</sup> The *OED* recognises ‘Rarities’ as a variant spelling of ‘rarities’ designed to mirror that of ‘variety’ or ‘varieties’.

<sup>68</sup> This was, of course, the technique used by Esther Inglis, calligraphically presenting common biblical texts: see A. H. Scott-Elliot and Elspeth Yeo, ‘Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis (1571-1624): A Catalogue,’ *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 84 (1990), 11-86.

<sup>69</sup> Drayton quoted in Love, *Scribal Publication*, 3.

<sup>70</sup> BL MS Add. MS 34572, 2r.

random scarcity does ring true. In August of 1628, James Howell pleaded to Austin that his work ‘should not be buried within the walls of a private study, or pass through a few particular hands, but appear in public view and to the sight of the world’.<sup>72</sup> We should, therefore, be prepared to take what Crane says to be the truth: that these texts were very difficult to come by, and that they circulated (if at all) ‘in-communitie’. Had Crane been relying on some form of circulation based around legal institutions, it would surely be a risk to send them to someone who had had a long career as a lawyer, such as Sir Francis Ashley.

The Davison psalms shared the scarcity of most texts copied by Crane, but they were also possessed of a wider range of recommending qualities. They may have been copied in the context of a larger collection of psalms written by a number of different people, but those by Francis Davison held a special place outside of this more general morass. This is especially true in ‘one of the largest’ of Crane’s religious volumes, now shelved as Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet 61.<sup>73</sup> In this manuscript, the Psalter appears at the very front of the manuscript, followed by texts by William Austin, and others. But the elaborate title page singles out for special attention those by Davison (Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 61, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; fig. 19). As it advertises:

Certaine  
selected Psalmes  
of David.  
(in verse)  
different from Those usually  
sung in the Church.

Composed by  
Francis Davison esq<sup>r</sup> deceased:  
and other Gentlemen.

Manuscrib’d by R. Crane.

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<sup>71</sup> Burke and Ross, ‘Elizabeth Middleton, John Burchier, and the Compilation of Seventeenth-Century Religious Manuscripts,’ 150. Woudhuysen similarly suggests that it was the ‘common legal backgrounds’ of Austin and Crane that facilitates the transmission of texts between them; Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 193.

<sup>72</sup> Oliphant Smeaton, ed., *Familiar Letters or Epistolae Ho-Eliaenae* 3 vols. (London: Dent, 1903), 1.303.

<sup>73</sup> Wilson, ‘Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King’s Players,’ 199.

Further to the strong recommendation in this particular manuscript, all of Crane's transcriptions of this psalter also include three striking eulogistic 'induction[s]'. Two of these are generic, authored by Francis Davison ('Come VRANIA, heauenly Muse', Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 61, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>) and Joseph Bryan ('Rowse thy self, my high-borne Soule', Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 61, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>); but the third is very specifically directed not just to the Davisons, but to Francis Davison in particular, and is authored by William Bagnal:

Induction. 3.  
to so many of the Psalmes as are of  
Mr. Fra: Dauisons Composure.

Theis Psalmes, so full of holy Meditation,  
which Daud soong by heau'nly Inspiration,  
our Soules, by as diuine an Imitation,  
rauish, and bless a-new, in this Translation.

Cease not this holy Worke, but one, by one  
chaunce o're theis heau'nly Hymnes, which may be don  
in diuine Measures, as they are begun,  
only by Daud's-self, or Dauids-son. / Wm Bagnal <sup>74</sup>

Although the bulk of these two short stanzas could readily be applied to any of the poems, the pun on 'Dauids-son' drives home the pertinence of the message to that author. It is not merely the poems' scarcity that makes them valuable, then, but also their production by a comparatively famous and interesting author.

All of the volumes that Crane intended for patrons packaged his religious texts, along with rhetorical aggrandisements of the texts' rarity and exalted authorship, in carefully and elegantly presented volumes. Crane's hand is an elegant mixture of italic and secretary forms, idiosyncratic and highly legible and well-fitted for extensive copying, though it could not be described as calligraphic.<sup>75</sup> Additionally, his bindings are clearly the product of some attention

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<sup>74</sup> Quoted from Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 61, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>; the poem is also included BL MSS Harl. 3357 and 6930.

<sup>75</sup> For some notes on Crane's hand, see Wilson, 'Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players,' 202, and plates.

and care.<sup>76</sup> For example, in the 11cm x 16 cm manuscript addressed to John Peirs, the plain calf boards are decorated front and back with a rolled frame design inlaid with gilt (around 3cm from the edges) and stamped fleurons at each corner. All these decorations are further enclosed by a double-fillet frame, this time blind-tooled very close to the cover edges; the edges themselves are decorated with another gold-tooled roll, with a semi-circular pattern. David Pearson records that this style of binding was a slightly more innovative style in the 1610s, but that it soon spread to widespread usage.<sup>77</sup> Crane's bindings may not be the most sophisticated or expensive options that would have been available, but for a scribe in difficult times they represent a significantly greater investment in the task than the plain vellum or calf that would have provided a satisfactory shield for the material within.

Adding together all the different ways in which Crane tried to create religious manuscripts with an appeal to his patrons, we may be inclined to disparage the value of the psalms texts themselves. Given the palpable sense of urgent need with which he acted, there is a strong sense that Crane was operating under market constraints very much like those faced by Harington, though with a greater consciousness of those constraints: keen as Crane may have been to have his volumes accepted by his patrons, he had to recognise that metrical psalms were simply not enough, alone, to evoke the interest of his target audiences.

*Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316*

The Crane manuscripts are a convenient starting point to begin thinking about the Davison psalms. They are attractively produced objects, but also, their aims to achieve patronage are clearly stated and reasonably consistent between the volumes. With the exception of various texts of the Davison 'Psalm. 137' (which Lara Crowley has persuasively attempted to re-

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<sup>76</sup> BL MS Harl. 6930, has a plain binding; but this is one volume that seems unlikely to have been intended for a patron.

<sup>77</sup> David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800* (London: British Library, 2005), 113-114.



attribute to Donne),<sup>78</sup> the three Crane manuscripts have served as the only source for scholarly readings of the Davisons. Yet while no other Davison text seems to have achieved the same level of dissemination as did 'Psalme. 137', the Davison psalms did circulate, as an authorial collection independent of any larger Psalter, and well beyond the bounds of Crane's pen. These further texts invite us to reconsider the character of popularity contained in the Crane manuscripts, even while the answers they give us are ambiguous.

The first of the two further manuscripts we will discuss is now found in Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, a composite volume of letters, documents, and various scraps of writing, probably compiled from the papers of Thomas Hearne (1678-1735).<sup>79</sup> Hearne is known as an antiquary and diarist, with a lifetime connection to Oxford University; he also spent some time as librarian of the Bodleian, so it seems only fitting that this volume would end up in the Rawlinson collection at that library. The circumstances of the compilation of the volume are unknown, and the earliest copyist or owners of the psalms manuscript it contains are certainly obscure.

In this volume, seven of the Davison psalms are transcribed on a 16-leaf booklet bound in with the other items.<sup>80</sup> The psalms are prefaced with two introductory poems, which are also found in the Crane manuscripts – Francis Davison's 'induction' ('Come Vrania, Heauenly Muse'), and the previously quoted eulogy by William Bagnall.<sup>81</sup> The final metrical psalm copied, the third version of the 23rd psalm ('The Lord my Pastor is; he tends me heedfully'), is actually incomplete: its 20 lines are truncated at the ninth line ('Yea through Deaths valleys affrightfull obscurty'). Within the range of psalms it copies – that is, between

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<sup>78</sup> Crowley, 'Donne, not Davison,' 603-36.

<sup>79</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316. Thomas Hearne's inscription is made on the inside front cover, which also dates the volume to 1709. Biographical information is from Theodor Harmsen, 'Hearne, Thomas (*bap.* 1678, *d.* 1735),' in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12827> (accessed September 19, 2011).

<sup>80</sup> These are 1, 13, 15, 6, and three versions of 23 (Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, fols. 122<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>v</sup>). All are also found in the Crane manuscripts. The psalms do not fill the whole of the booklet, running as it does between fols. 115 and 129. This is clearly a quarto, with half-watermarks found half way down the inside edge of every page. The paper size is 18.7cm x 14.35cm, and appears to be consistent throughout the booklet.

<sup>81</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, fols. 123<sup>r</sup>-124<sup>r</sup>.

the first and the 23rd – its presentation of texts from the Davison psalms seems to be complete; however, it lacks a further ten psalms attributed to Francis, and another one attributed to Christopher, all of which appear in the Crane manuscripts. Although, as we have noted above, the texts do not appear to have substantial variants compared to those found in the Crane manuscripts, they have additional features that mark them as different from the Crane texts. Each metrical psalm is given a sub-title of the incipit of the Latin of the psalm – ‘Vsque quo Domine’ (13), ‘Domine quis habitabit’ (15), ‘Domine ne in furore’ (6), and so on.<sup>82</sup> More unusually, the attributions of authorship to two of the psalms are unusually detailed: psalms 13 and 6 are signed, ‘F D. 8 Aug. 1611’,<sup>83</sup> and ‘Per F: D: 13: Iuly 1612’.<sup>84</sup> (Christopher Davison’s authorship is marked on another of the poems, while the others pass without attribution.<sup>85</sup>) The hand in which the psalms are copied is an apparently trained italic from the early seventeenth century (fig. 20). This fine presentation (however incomplete), may suggest that this booklet had at one time been intended to be read and stored independently of a larger binding; that this may actually have occurred is suggested by the dirtiness of its outer leaves. The only other writing in the booklet is a handful of medicinal recipes, apparently unrelated to the psalms, and written in a secretary hand.<sup>86</sup>

The inclusion of the booklet in this manuscript appears to have taken place without any kind of method: the psalm booklet does not relate to any wider trend in the manuscript, and gives no clues for the kind of compilatory interest that would have brought these texts together. The hand in which the psalms are written is found nowhere else in the volume, nor is the paper, and the kinds of correspondences that can be found between the booklet and other texts seem coincidental rather than indicative. Other quite substantial booklets and gatherings were compiled into the binding such as a catalogue of the library at St Edmund’s

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<sup>82</sup> These three are the same as those in the Sidney psalter (MS A at least), and I think are taken from the vulgate.

<sup>83</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, fol. 126<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., fol. 127<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., fol. 126<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., fol. 117<sup>r</sup>.

Hall, covering 23 leaves,<sup>87</sup> and a lexicon of Latin and Greek words over 16 leaves.<sup>88</sup> Several pieces of religious writing occur elsewhere in the volume – such as a couple of prayers of praise;<sup>89</sup> notes on the Bible;<sup>90</sup> documents expressing antipathy to Catholicism;<sup>91</sup> a description of Nebuchadnezzar in a lavish calligraphic hand;<sup>92</sup> and a Greek homily on Lazarus.<sup>93</sup> All of these materials are from the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Finding these kinds of material in the volume may not help us to determine any greater background to the psalm booklet, but they at least instruct us that its acquisition and binding here would by no means have been out of the ordinary. Although Hearne was known to have collected other early modern verse manuscripts – Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 148<sup>94</sup> – Hearne's permissiveness as a collector makes it difficult to read too much into any of the oblique connections within the volume.

Exactly what a manuscript like this can tell us about the circulation of the Davison psalms, independent of what we learned from the Crane manuscripts, is indeterminate. Although adding a witness of the psalms to the modest list of surviving texts suggests that early modern readers were more invested in them than the Crane manuscripts might lead us to believe, the text itself pulls us in different directions. It is not immediately destined to be a manuscript used for patronal ends, as suggested by the lack of any prefatory material suggests. But on the other hand, it is difficult to divest the little booklet from all vestiges of a 'professional' production: its elegance and its independence as a unit all mean that it could have been produced as a commercial project. If this text *was* the result of a particularly interested amateur, it is surprising to find not only that their interest ran out half way through

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., fols. 12-35 (item 7).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., fols. 37-51 (item 9).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., fols. 52-3, 93 (items 10 and 38).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., fols. 68-9 (items 21 and 22).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., fols. 75 and 79 (items 24 and 28).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., fols. 84-5 (item 30).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 113<sup>v</sup> (item 48).

<sup>94</sup> Published as Edward Doughtie, *Liber Lilliat: Elizabethan Song and Verse (Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poetry 148)* (Newark and London: Associated University Presses, 1985).

a poem, but that it was not bound or preserved in any form larger than itself. Since such speculations cannot be easily grounded, our conclusions on Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316 might necessarily fall down to simpler observations: the mere fact that the texts circulated in ways distinctive to those transcribed by Crane gives the texts a layer of significance and value that we would not otherwise have imagined them to have.

*Chetham's Library MS A.4.15*

Compared to the difficulties in analysing the function and purpose of Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, the evaluation of MC15 seems quite straightforward: it demonstrates quite firmly that the psalms were copied into a compilation that was more definitively an 'amateur' production. With closer interrogation of the style in which they were copied, however, ambiguities about the desire and value with which these psalms were invested still creep in.

Seven Davison psalms are transcribed at the very end of MC15: 6, 13, 15, one version of 23 ('Great Jehouah daines'), 30, 79 and 86.<sup>95</sup> In addition to the variants in these texts from the others (as noted above), this particular selection of texts represents a variation on the canon of Davison psalms manifest in other texts. Within the same range of psalms (i.e., psalms 6-86), several whole poems feature in the Crane manuscripts that do not appear here – absent are Francis Davison's incomplete version of the first psalm ('But makes Gods-Law his sweet delight'), two alternative versions of the 23rd third psalm, and the 73rd. Nor does MC15 contain any of the prefatory material that is found in the other manuscripts – neither the Bagnall eulogy, nor Davison's 'induction' are copied. Indeed, there is no mark whatsoever of the authorship of these poems. Each poem is sparsely introduced by the most modest of titles: 'Psalme. 6<sup>o</sup>', 'Psalme: 13./.', and so on.

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<sup>95</sup> As with the selection of Davison psalms chosen for versification, there is no tradition making this choice especially significant, as it might be for the penitential psalms; for other examples see Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 46-49.

The copying of the psalms is undertaken by what we have named hand E. As described above in Chapter 2, E's work tends to follow the trends established by hands A and D, the most important hands in the manuscript. E is a highly neat and legible hand, in spite of a number of quite idiosyncratic letter forms. E's proficiency is expressed in its ability to copy on consistently straight lines, even without pencil marking or scoring; also, E's ability to copy out texts with a challenging mis-en-page seem to be unparalleled in this manuscript (see, for instance, MC15, 112<sup>r</sup>, fig. 21). The sometimes complicated arrangements of the stanzas of the metrical psalms demonstrate this (MC15, 115<sup>v</sup>, fig. 22), as do the parliamentary texts. In the course of the psalms, E does make one striking transcriptional error, in copying out the first two verses of 'Psalme: 30: // Lord to the whilest I am living' on a recto (MC15, 115<sup>r</sup>), before resuming the transcription of the poem on the following verso, this time copying out all six verses (MC15, 115<sup>v</sup>-116<sup>r</sup>). A mistake as this may be, it only goes to show the physical labour willingly applied to the copies that hand E makes.

The content that E contributes across the manuscript is diverse, and possibly greater than any other hand. The exact date at which E is likely to be copying is obscure, although given that it copies texts from throughout the 1610s and 1620s, it seems likely to be one of the later contributors to the manuscript. Some of the material is very closely aligned with the content that precedes it: the hand's transcription of a popular letter by Raleigh (41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>) follows directly after the letters by Raleigh and Bacon copied in hands C and D; a single epitaph (98<sup>r</sup>) carries on the trend engaged in by hands D and C. Other of its content, however, is highly distinct from anything copied by any other hand in the manuscript. The prose texts it copies from the parliament of 1621 (109<sup>v</sup>-112<sup>r</sup>) are entirely unlike anything else that is copied in MC15; indeed, it is highly unusual for this kind of writing to be included in collections with

any semblance to MC15.<sup>96</sup> The Davison psalms, too, have very little in common with anything else compiled into MC15.

Besides the psalms, MC15 is not a significant repository for religious writing. In a sense, as a part of culture and ideology, religion is utterly ubiquitous in MC15, as elsewhere: to give two examples among many, an elegy on Prince Henry compares him to Christ (101<sup>v</sup>), while the well-known elegy on King James compares him to Naboth and Uriah (as taken from I Kings 21).<sup>97</sup> Yet these remain elegies and not, as the Psalms are, texts that could be regarded as devotional ahead of being considered political. In its collection of a small amount of devotional writing amongst a predominantly secular compilation, MC15 is fairly representative of other collections.<sup>98</sup>

What makes the texts in MC15 difficult to pin down is the status of its hand E. While hand E could have been a late ‘owner’ of the manuscript, it is possible that the scribe might have been commissioned – like the scribe of the John Owen epigrams in Rosenbach MS 1083/15, or the Somerset libels in HRC 79. The diversity of the content hand E transcribes is exceptional, and makes the contributions to MC15 by other hands look very limited in scope. The work of one of the most extensively witnessed early modern scribes, the ‘Feathery Scribe’, is even more diverse: perhaps E was a professional, with access to a greater range of texts than even the committed amateur would be likely to have.<sup>99</sup>

### *Conclusion*

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<sup>96</sup> Certainly, none of the manuscripts studied in any detail within this thesis include parliamentary prose, circulate in manuscript though it did.

<sup>97</sup> These kinds of texts indicate the difficulty in differentiating strictly between secular and sacred texts of the early modern period. For a similar discussion, see Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham, ‘Religious Publishing in England 1557-1640,’ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume IV, 1557-1695*, eds. John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 29-35

<sup>98</sup> For two examples of religious writing in otherwise secular collections I have come across, see Manchester, JRULM Eng. MS 410, fol. 33<sup>v</sup> – ‘Lord what am I? a worme, dust, vapour, nothing’; and Bodl. MS Ashmole 38, p. 14 – ‘To Christ // Wilt thou forgie those sinns whear I begune’. Arthur Marotti associates women’s anthologies with ‘devotional pieces’: see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 52.

<sup>99</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 185-6.

One slightly surprising aspect of the Davison psalms' circulation is the absence of any stray psalms circulating from out of the set whose composition by Francis and Christopher have not been doubted. 'Psalm. 137' may be an exception, but as Crowley has shown, it is more likely that that poem was inserted into the collection of Davison psalms, than it was extracted from the larger Psalter. But if the two 'new' manuscripts examined here show us anything about the Davison Psalms, it is that they had a life independent of the multi-authored Psalter that Crane repeatedly copied, and as a small set of religious verse were deemed worthy of copying by at least two quite separate hands. The three contexts of the psalms' copying are quite thoroughly dissimilar – even though it is not quite possible for the evidence that remains to be allocated into comfortably distinct categories of professional 'scribal publication' and 'user publication'. Importantly, unlike the work of John Harington – the best example we have of an 'unpopular' early modern metrical psalmist in manuscript – they seem to be disconnected from any central node, be it that of the author or a later scribe.

Understanding fully the manifest differences between the practices of transcription represented in the manuscripts is, however, a challenge that is not easy to meet. The problems of the texts' basic opacity, so common in manuscript studies more generally, are all the more felt for the relative abundance of evidence that is provided us by the manuscripts in Ralph Crane's hand. Without written discursive evidence to work with, raising questions of motive, intention, or desire in manuscripts is fraught with difficulties. But it is through a willingness to accumulate and digest as wide a range of evidence as we can that we are able to realise just how much information studies of manuscripts are missing out on.

### Conclusion

The bulk of the work of this thesis has analysed MC15 in a fragmentary and disconnected way. Working with text after text taken from a single point of reference, the preceding four chapters have attempted to sketch out the way (or ways) in which this manuscript relates to the culture of transmission of which it is a part. Yet as a result of this approach, MC15 itself has often sunk into the background of the particular topic or text under examination. In spite of being a consistently important point of reference, owing to the methods this thesis has used, MC15 has often had to assume a status no more or less important than any of the other manuscripts with which it has been compared. Necessary as this has been, this conclusion turns once more to the manuscript as a whole, to assess what more we can say about it subsequent to the extensive work into its texts.

A major issue that an extensive study of an individual manuscript collection might hope to clarify is how that book relates to the wider manuscript culture in which it was produced. In some cases, basic enquiries into connections between different manuscripts have proved very suggestive and useful. For example, in examining manuscript collections of the Restoration period, Harold Love found that ‘a simple first-line index of this material proved invaluable in investigating connections between sources and allowing me to frame questions about the nature of transmission, authorship, and reception’.<sup>1</sup> The research for this study of

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<sup>1</sup> Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 303.



MC15 was certainly begun with similar hopes: surely, some correlation would emerge - textual, social, or otherwise - between MC15 and some other body of primary materials. Another text would surely be discovered with which it would be obvious and appropriate to compare MC15, whether through the inclusion of certain popular texts, or something more obscure.

Yet while it is quickly learned that the presence of a very 'popular' text in a collection does not suggest the manuscript's inclusion within any particularly distinctive group of manuscripts, it is slightly more surprising to find that even the mutual inclusion of very *rare* materials in a manuscript does not necessarily indicate a close associative connection between them. MC15 may share rare epigrams with PRF15, psalms with the Crane manuscripts, or agricultural poetry with Henry Gurney's commonplace book, but there is little indication that it has any direct or proximate relationship with those books. Nonetheless, taking an interest in the mutual presence of these texts is not a dead end of research, and the existence of multiple copies of rare texts can often tell us something very interesting about the histories of those text: copies of the Davison psalms in an amateur collection indicate a more varied readership for those texts than would previously have been thought; and the presence of the Gurney poetry in a collection of the early seventeenth century shows, as Steven May has noted, a surprisingly long-term and extensive reception for some out-of-the-way poetry.

Although we might be disappointed at being unable to situate MC15 in a precise social or cultural context, our inability to do so is instructive in itself. Trying to examine MC15's place in early modern manuscript culture shows it to be an example of manuscript that cannot be reduced to any simple claims about a compiler's psychology, institutional identity, or social position. These necessary pre-conditions for a manuscript collection's initial production are more immediately palpable in other examples, and no doubt have some bearing on MC15; but it is not reducible to discussion on any of those terms. It has an interesting and unusual position as a 'store house' for the work of many people, a fact that should never be elided (but

always has been) in discussions of the character of MC15. That as many as seven hands each contributed material to the manuscript surely helps it to achieve a coverage of the field of texts available in early modern manuscripts that is rarely achieved in other collections. As such, MC15 appears as an unusually open repository for renaissance texts. Jason Scott-Warren has rightly emphasised the importance of working with manuscripts that fall outside of the neat categorizations of manuscript collections given in the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. However, a closer inspection of MC15, which has become so commonly been given the status of an ‘Inns of Court’ manuscript, suggests that those standard categories should not be regarded as stable and definitive qualities of manuscript collections. One book can manifest connections with all kinds of environments. Although these conclusions might be hinted at even from inspecting the texts of MC15 on their own terms, its proper corroboration comes through analysis of its handwriting and extensive research into the other witnesses to its texts.

Moving from transmission to literary concerns, I hope also to have demonstrated some of the ways in which the significance a book like MC15 extends beyond manuscript culture. The texts it copies inevitably have literary, cultural, and symbolic relationships with other early modern texts, out of print as much from manuscript. Although the differences between the media are ‘only incidentally ... intellectual’, as Mark Bland notes,<sup>2</sup> drawing comparisons between written texts in both print and manuscript illustrates how the different forms can take on complementary roles. In particular, although the commemoration of court figures such as Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex is enacted across the full spectrum of early modern texts, manuscripts produced by amateurs offer something unavailable through print. This could be clandestine commentary (in the case of libels) or an effectively ‘authorised’ mode of public self-presentation (for letters). Alternatively, the circulation of

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<sup>2</sup> Bland, Mark. ‘Johnson, *Bianthantos* and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence.’ *Studies in Bibliography* 51 (1998): 154-5. That said, even taken just as written texts, libels make a contribution to literary history that ‘differs considerably’ from what is offered in print: see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, 4.

psalms in manuscript seems intensely involved with the ubiquity of the form in printed texts. The copying of psalm texts by into MC15 is, at some level, a response to what was going on in print.

As evidence for a history of reception, if not a history of reading, manuscript collections promise much, but do not deliver a great deal without significant (and potentially distorting) critical interventions. The varied forms of evidence that this thesis has analysed to explore MC15 and its connections have consistently frustrated any attempts at determinate conclusions or easy description. It is impossible to know whether this represents the character of manuscript circulation as it stood in early modern England, or, it is a result of the almost certain loss of so many documents from the time. All the same, the evidence exists, and continues to demand extensive interrogation and scrutiny.

Appendix 1: Manuscripts owned by Richard Farmer now held at Chetham's Library,  
 Manchester

BF = *Bibliotheca Farmeriana. A Catalogue of the Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library, in Print and Manuscript, of the Late Revd. Richard Farmer, D.D.* London: Thomas King, 1798.

BC = Gresswell, William. *Bibliotheca Chethamensis*. 3 vols. Manchester: Henry Smith, 1826.  
 volume 3.

No. (BC)	Description (BC)	No. (BF)	Current shelf mark
8003	Liber Ms. quo continentur....	8091	A.4.102
8005	Justini Historici libri xliiij. folio.	8075	A.6.88
8009	A very curious Ms. which belonged to Dr. Farmer ...	8062	A.6.31
8010	Poems collected by Tho. Smyth in K. James the first's time.	8055	A.3.47
8011	Old Poetry. Temp. K. James I. - <i>With the Autographs 'Tho. Martin' &amp; R. Farmer.'</i>	8053	A.4.16
8012	A miscellaneous collection of curious documents, letters and poems, about the year 1600. <i>From Dr. Farmer's Library.</i>	8053	A.4.15
8013	Poems and satires in the time of Charles II. &c. collected and written	8055	A.4.14

	by Oliver le Neve, <i>Esq. From Dr</i> <i>Farmer's Library</i>		
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Appendix 2: Notes on the differentiation of hands in MC15

In the first section of prose in MC15, the work of most hands can be quite easily differentiated from one another: hands A, B, C, D, and E are all quite distinctive, and on the whole do not need differentiating from one another. Hands B, C, and E, are all especially idiosyncratic and distinctive, and are unlikely to be confused with another. However, the texts that I have attributed to hands A and D need some defence. These are written in common styles of handwriting - a mixed secretary and a mostly non-cursive italic, respectively - with relatively few idiosyncratic graphs. The work that I have attributed to each hand contains a number of similarities and differences: ultimately, though, the similarities are more significant than their differences. A further point in need of explanation is presented by the transcription of the 'Gulling Sonnets': although this is an italic hand, there are good reasons for attributing the poems' transcription to the scribe who also copied the early prose texts (ie, A).

The variable aspects of the presentation of the first five texts, in hand A, can probably be accounted for by variable conditions and pressures under which the writing was executed. So although the first 'Arraignment' text is very thoroughly ruled in pencil (as in fig. 23), later texts have not undertaken such careful preparatory work. Of the first five texts, several are presented with margins of very different widths. Subtle variations can also be seen in the presentation of titles in particular - sometimes they are highly elegant, sometimes rather scruffy (figs. 25, 25, 26). These kinds of differences could be much to do with the amount of time available in which to copy, or the weariness of handwriting. The similarities, by contrast, have the character of features on which conscious and consistent decisions have been made. Wherever appropriate, catchwords are deployed at the bottom right hand of the page. Italics are used consistently for several purposes: for titles of each report or letter (figs. 23, 27-29), running heads (figs. 30-31), and for emphases of names or quotes within the body of a text .

In most cases, the end of texts is marked by a ‘curlicue’ (figs. 32-33), a device which John Brinsley regarded as ‘very nimble and cunning’ (fig. 34).<sup>683</sup>

The texts attributed to hand D also require some closer attention. The differences are, again, possibly circumstantial: in fig. 35 (MC15 fol. 35r), we see the hand with a somewhat greater lean, and with lines slightly more widely spaced than those describe in fig 36 (MC15 fol. 38<sup>r</sup>). The pace of writing is likely to have been different, with fig. 35 transcribed at greater speed than fig. 36. However, more decisive elements of practice are consistent between the two versions. The use contractions is very similar in both: in the letter of Raleigh to his wife (35<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>r</sup>) , as in the first letter from Bacon to the House of Commons (37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>), the contractions ‘y<sup>t</sup>’, ‘y<sup>e</sup>’, ‘w<sup>ch</sup>’ and ‘w<sup>th</sup>’ are consistently used in place of their longhand version; any opportunity to use a spike ‘p’ is taken. The ‘p’ in both, as illustrated in figs. 35 and 36, with a flick to the left at both at top and bottom, is highly idiosyncratic, even if not used entirely consistently.

The copying of the ‘Gulling Sonnets’ was done in an elegant script that is not found elsewhere in MC15. However, there are good reasons to suppose that the scribe responsible for the sonnets was the same as that of hand A, the mixed secretary that copies a great deal of prose and poetry throughout the manuscript. The dedicatory sonnet to Anthony Cooke (fig. 37) uses an ‘M’ (as in ‘Muse’) very similar to that of ‘My Ladye Rich’ (fig. 38), with an ‘I’ much like that from ‘Ireland’ (fig. 28). That sonnet is also marked with a curlicue, in much the same way as was used amongst A’s prose. (While simple marks of completion are not at all unusual in manuscript collections, the curlicue is not at all common). Comparing the hand of the sonnets with that of the ‘Epigrammes’, whose slightly rushed secretary script is very likely to be hand A, further comparisons are worth drawing. This is marked by its use of italics for

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<sup>683</sup> John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: or, the Grammar Schoole Shewing how to Proceede from the First Entrance into Learning, to the Highest Perfection Required in the Grammar Schooles, with Ease, Certainty and Delight Both to Masters and Schollars*. (London: Humphrey Lowes for Thomas Man, 1612), 36, quoted in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, ed., *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001), 128.

headings and emphasis in the body text (figs. 38-40), a majuscule 'E' made of two interlocking ovals (figs. 39 and 41), and the use of a curlicue (fig. 42). In both sonnets and epigrams, an unusual form of 'g' is used, with the descending bowl preceded by a sharp joint (as in fig. 37); compare 'In Norgum' (fig. 43).



Appendix 3: Contents and hands of MC15

Name	Title / First line	start	end	Hand
Queen Elizabeth	The Arraignment of the Earles of Essex and			
	Southampton ...	1r	15r	A
	42 Elizabeth: 19 Nouembris 1599. In Camera Stellata./.	18r	23r	A
	My <i>Lord</i> keeper to the Earle Marshall:	26r	27r	A
	The Queenes Letter sent to my Ladye Norrice ...	28r	28r	A
	My Ladye Rich: to the Queene.	29r	30r	A
	To her <i>Majestie</i>	30v	30v	B
	My <i>Lord</i> Mountioye to the Earle of Essex:	31r	31v	B
	Mr ffrancis Bacon to my Lord Henry Howarde./	32r	32v	B
	My <i>Lord</i> hen. howarde to master ffrancis Bacon:/	33r	33r	B
Walter Raleigh	Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Car.	34r	34v	C
Walter Raleigh	<i>Sir</i> Walter Raleigh to his wife.	35r	36r	D
	To the	36v	36v	
Fra: St Alban. Can:	To the right honorouble his very good Lord ...	37r	37v	D
Francis St Alban Chancelor	To the right honourable the Lords of the Parlament ...	38r	40r	D
Walter Raleigh	<i>Sir</i> Walter Rawleigh to his <i>Majestie</i> before his tryall.	41r	41v	C
	<i>Sir</i> Walter Raleigh to his <i>Majestie</i> after his			
Walter Raleigh	condemnation.	41v	42r	E
J.D. / Mr Dauyes	Here my Camelion Muse her selfe doth change...	47v	47v	A*
[John Davies]	The louer vnder burthen of his {...} love...	48r	48r	A*
[John Davies]	As when the brighte Cerulian firmament...	48r	48r	A*
[John Davies]	What Eagle can behould her sunbright eye...	48v	48v	A*
[John Davies]	The hardnes of her harte and truth of myne...	48v	48v	A*
[John Davies]	Mine Eye, myne eare, my will, my witt, my harte...	49r	49r	A*
[John Davies]	The sacred Muse that firste made loue devine...	49r	49r	A*

*Appendices*

[John Davies]	Into the midle <Te> Temple of my harte	49v	49v	A*
[John Davies]	My case is this, I loue Zepheria bright.	49v	49v	A*
[John Davies]	To loue my lord I doe knightes service owe	50r	50r	A*
[John Harington]	Is't for a grace, or is't for some dislike?	50v	50v	D
	We maddames that fucus vse	50v	50v	D
John Harrington	Dread Soueraigne & euer Loving Prince	50v	50v	D
J: Hoskins	If life be time that here is spent	51r	51r	D*
J. H.	Put of thy buskins Sophocles the greate	51r	51r	D*
J: H.	you nimble dreames with cobweb winges	51v	51v	D*
Mr Hoskins.	Loue is a foolish melancholy	52r	52v	D*
[Thomas Campion]	The man of life vpright whose guiltles heart is free	52v	52v	D
[Dyer? Ralegh?]	The lowest trees haue topps: the Ante her gall	53r	53r	D*
	Ladye since first my hart became your thrall	53r		D*
	Desire in the (my choice) letts my desire	53v	53v	D*
	The loue I beare is such as haith no ende	53v	53v	D*
	What thinge can please mine eye, but thy sweete face?	53v	53v	D*
	The Conquest rare doth greatest glory gaine	54r	54r	D*
	God knowes my harte & what I do desire	54r	54r	D*
	In high attempte the boulddest blouds of all	54r	54r	D*
A. B.	Welcome firme hope, welcome againe my loue	54v	54v	D*
A. B.	yee all haue led me into errors way	54v	54v	D*
Earle of Oxford	Were I a kinge I could commaunde content	55r	55r	D*
P. S.	Wert thou a Kinge, yet not commaunde content	55r	55r	D*
F. M.	A Kinge (oh boone) for my aspiring minde	55r	55r	D*
	The greatest kinges do least commande content	55v	55v	D*
Walter Rawleigh	Lady farewell whome I in silence serue	55v	55v	D*
[Robert Devereux]	Happy were he coulde finish forth his <dayes,>^fate^	56r	56r	D*
[Robert Devereux]	Ingenium, studium nummos spem tempus amicos	56r	56r	D*
[William Crashaw?]	It is not I that dy I do but leaue an Inne	56r	56r	D*

*Appendices*

	Weary of sinn, but not of sinninge	56v	56v	G
	In elder times it was observed, that	56v	56v	D
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Baldus did never sweare since he was borne	57r	57r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Chus doth soe often to the doctor goe	57r	57r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Doe but marke Brillus his accquanintance well	57r	57r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Goll cald to see a frend as he did passe	57r	57r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]		57v	57v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Chara half angry with my bawdie songe	57v	57v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Hyrus entreated me to comend him to his frend	57v	57v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Mathon, the danncer w[i]th the maple face	57v	57v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Mathon hath got the barr and many graces	57v	57v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Mathon doth all his Epigrammes compare	58r	58r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Mathon why sholdst thou thincke ovr Comon Lawe	58r	58r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	<Frista saies faine she wold be ridd of me	58r	58r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Kinde Arna to her husband kist thes wordes	58r	58r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	To weare a weapon is not valuuse vse	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Gildus at feastes feastes doth talke, and carve, and call	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	I say that Combis is both learn'd and wise	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Combis of any thing dares bouldly speake	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Fye vppon Complementes their are to bad	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Mistakinge braines praise Norgus witt for greate	58v	58v	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Norgus all women courtes in this one fashion	59r	59r	A
[Rudyerd, Benjamin]	Spongus is accounted a brave gallantē	59r	60r	A
[John Donne]	Marrye & loue thy Flauia; for she	61r	62r	D*
[John Donne]	All haile swete Poet full of more stronge fire	62v	63r	D*
[once attr. John Donne]	Why dost thou deare affect thy viol so?	63v	63v	D*
[John Donne]	As vertuous men passe mildely away	64r	64v	D*
[Ben Jonson]	Still to be neat, still to be drest,	64v	64v	D*
Wa: Raleigh	Go soule the bodies guest	65r	66v	D*
[Robert Devereux?]	Go Eccho of the minde	67r	68r	D*

	From Katherins dock there Lanch't a Pinke	68v	68v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	Too greate resorte & building sumptuous,	69r	69v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	The couetous & Prodigall do both the meane excede	70r	70r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	A haughty heart & beggers purse	70r	70r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	Who any thing by industry shall saue	70r	70v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	Seauen houres sleepe doth nature full suffice	70v	70r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	How can you tell vs by a yeere	70v	72r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	No aspect or influence, nor yet coniunctions greate	72r	72r	D
	The Kindes of beasts be twenty eight in England that			
[Henry Gurney?]	do breede	72r	72v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	The strongest beasts to carry or to lift	72v	72v	D
	Spring moist & warme earth frutes doth bud and			
[Henry Gurney?]	breede	72v	72v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	The law of God & nature do decre	73r	74r	D
	Ech family <&>^to^ comonealth we well resemble			
[Henry Gurney?]	may	74v	75v	D
[Henry Gurney?]	Who all thinges hat for houshold meete	75v	75v	D
	As Pepper rugged, brown and harde w <del>h</del> ich tongue doth			
[Henry Gurney?]	something bite	76r	76r	D
	Of worldly treasure next to land thy timber compt for			
[Henry Gurney?]	best	76r	76r	D
	A graue discourse, a musing minde, a willinge worke or			
[Henry Gurney?]	sport	76r	76r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	In only God most mighty put thy trust	76r	79r	D
[Henry Gurney?]	An ould man askd, what charme, or spell	80r	80r	D
Th: Scotte	Such as I haue to my owne hart propounded	80v	80v	D
	You women that do London Loue so well	81r	81v	D
[Carey]	The humble petition of the Lord vicount	82r	82v	F
Mr Camden	Non hominem possu[?], non aueduo dicere Dium	86r	86r	D*

Mr Dauies.	Qui iacet hic fuit ille aliquid, fuid & nihil ille	86r	86r	D*
Tho: Morus eques	O Deus omnipotens vituli miserere Johannis	86r	86r	D*
	Papa pius quintus moritur: res mira tot inter	86r	86r	D*
Tho Laurence	Fundus habet dominu <sup>m</sup> qui fundu <sup>m</sup> nuper habetat	86r	86r	D*
	Sic vult sic statuit reru <sup>m</sup> natura creatrix	86r	86r	D*
	Corbettus nequeat pluribus esse locis	86v	86v	D*
Tho Laurence.	Sic vult sic statuit veru <sup>m</sup> natura creatrix	86v	86v	D*
	Regia Sydnei facies dulces[?] leporas	86v	86v	D*
Abrah: Frances	Vixisti, viuus, viues sine fine beatus:	86v	87r	D*
Dauenport	Non est defuncto quod te doleamus amici	87r	87r	D*
Tho: Lavrence	Est, est viuentem quod te doleamus amici	87r	87r	D*
J.R.	Quis lapis hic? Tumulus cui deditus editas orbi	87r	87r	D*
A.L.	Quid tua vita? dolor: quid mors misi meta doloru <sup>m</sup>	87r	87r	D*
	En Rosa flos veris, Leo Siluæ rex ceciderunt	87v	87v	D*
J.L.	Succubuit fatis Regina Britannica sævis	87v	88r	D*
	Iustruxi quonda <sup>m</sup> multos, nune instruo conctos	88r	88r	D
[Nicolas Breton]	Amonge the woes of those vnhappye wightes	89r	94r	A
	Gentle beholder of thes dolefull lynes	95r	95r	A
	Stearne death the abridger of the worldes desire	95v	96r	A
[Fulke Greville]	England netherland, the heav'ans and the Artes,	96r	96r	A
[Thomas Bastard]	///Sir Francis and Sir Phillip/// haue noe Tombe			A
J: Hoskyns	Here the bodie of that man lyes	96v	96v	A
Mr Hoskynes: medy Tempi	Who wold live in others breath	96v	96v	A
Mr Hoskyns	Here lyes John Goddard maker of bellows	96v	96v	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	Here lyeth the bodie of ///Hugh poache///	96v	96v	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	I was the first that made Christendome see	96v	96v	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	Here lyes Gresham vnderground	97r	97r	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	Here lyes that man whose horse did gayne	97r	97r	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	Here lyes Swifte that Swiftlie fledd	97r	97r	A
per eundem [Hosykns]	Here lyes the man was borne and Cryed	97r	97r	A

per eundem [Hosykns]	And was not death a lusty strugler	97r	97r	A
	Here lyes the man withowt repentaunce	97r	97r	A
Mr Hoskines	Reader I wold not haue the mistake	97v	97v	A
	That I spent I had; <i>that</i> I gaue I haue: <i>that</i> I .este [?] I			
	lost	97v	97v	C?
	An Epitaphe on a younge childe	97v	97v	D*
	Of a Tailer	97v	97v	D*
	Of Mr Tayler in Colmans streete	97v	97v	D*
	Thither thy soule is gone	98r	98r	E
Earle of Penbrok	You that reade passing by	98v	98v	D
Mr Daniell [Samuel]		98v	98v	D
B. I. [Ben Jonson]	Stay, view this stone, and if thou beest not such	99r	99r	D
Ralegh, Walter	Euen such is time that takes in trust	99r	99r	D
	A virgin chaste, of gracefull frame	99v	99v	D*
	Attornatus genaratis quondam Anne reginalis	100r	100r	D
	How durst thou sawcie death intrapp	100r	100r	D
	Not full tweue yeares twice toulde a weary breath	100r	100r	D
[George Morley? BL MS]	All that haue eyes now wake & weepe	100v	100v	D
	England & France vnhappily at warres	101r	101r	D*
	Here lyes my Lord of Northampton, his Maiesties			
	erwigg,	101r	101r	D
	Here lyes Tom: Lancaster and Sysan Sporke	101r	101r	F
	Here lyes Butler that never was Docter	101v	101v	D
	Hic iacet Democritus iunior	101v	101v	D
Richard Martin	The common feares and difficulties, <i>which</i> perplex	106r	109r	A
	The Commons assembled in Parliam <sup>ent</sup> taking into their			
	...	109v	109v	E
	Most gracious and dread souereigne we <i>your</i> Majesties			
	most loyall and	110r	111v	E

	The commons assembled in Parliam <sup>ent</sup> being iustly			
	occasioned herevnto concerning	112r	112r	E
[Davison]	Lord whilest thy iust rage is bidinge	112v	113r	E
[Davison]	Lord how long howe long shall I	113v	114r	E
[Davison]	Lord in thy house whoe shall for ever bide	114r	114r	E
[Davison]	Great Jehouah daines	114v	115r	E
[Davison]	Lord to the whilest I am living	115r	115r	E
[Davison]	Lord to the whilest I am living	115v	116r	E
[Davison]	O god into thine owne deere heritage	116r	117r	E
[Davison]	To myne humble supplicac <sup>ion</sup>	117r	118v	E

Appendix 4: Contents and hands of Rosenbach MS 1083/15

The index and attributions are primarily based on James L. Sanderson, ‘An Edition of an Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Collection of Poems (Rosenbach MS. 186 [1083/15])’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1960), who provides an alphabetical list of the manuscript’s poems (xxxv-lv), but not a list of contents. Much of this information can now be checked at <http://firstlines.folger.edu>. The attribution of a hand to each poem is based on my own research at the Rosenbach museum and library. Here, the editorial square brackets may indicate an attribution not made in the manuscript, but available elsewhere.

Page	Title	First Line	Author	Hand
1		On Holy euen when w[inter]s nights wake longe		A
2		Husba./ In{		A
2		Your Rose [is sw]eet & womanlike in smell		A
2		In choice of faire are thirty things required		A
2		fful oft Septimius I haue heard the say		A
2		[bla]ck pudding white putting sodd in a pott		A
3		Nay pish: nay pue: nay fayth [ ] will you fie		A
3		My Lady shee is not content		A
4	ad musam	ffly Merry muse into that merry towne	[J. Davies]	A
4	Of a Gull	Oft in my laughing rimes I name a gull:	ibid.	A
5	In Rufum	Rufus the Courtier, at the theather	ibid.	A
5	In plures	Faustus, Sextus, Liuia, Ponticus	ibid.	A
5	In Quintum	Quintus the Dauncer vseth euermore	ibid.	A
6	In Titum	Titus the braue and valorous young gallant	ibid.	A
6	In Catam	Kate being please, wished that her pleasure would	ibid.	A
6	In Liberum	Liber doth vaunt how chastly he hath liud	ibid.	A



*Appendices*

6	In Gellam	Gella if thou doth loue thy selfe take heed	ibid.	A
6	In Medontem	Great Captaine Medon weares a chaine of gould	ibid.	A
6	In Quintum	Quintus his witt infused in his braine	ibid.	A
7	In seuerum	The Puritane Suerus oft doth reede	ibid.	A
7	In Leucam	Leuka in presence once a fart did lett	ibid.	A
8	In Faustum	That youth qd ffaustus hath a lion seene	ibid.	A
8	In Flaccum	The falce knaue fflaccus once a bribe I gaue	ibid.	A
8	In Cyneam	Thou dogged Cyneas headed like a dogg:	ibid.	A
9	In Marcum	When marcus comes from minnes, he still doth sweare	ibid.	A
9	In Cyneam	When Cyneas comes amonge his freindes in morninge	ibid.	A
9	In Cosmum	Cosmus hath more discoursing in his head	ibid.	A
10	In Dacum	Amonge the Poets Dacus numbred is	ibid.	A
10	In Heiwooddum	Heywood that did in Epigrammes excell	ibid.	A
10	In Gallum	Gallus hath binn this sommer in freesland	ibid.	A
11	In Decium	Audacious painters haue nine worthies made	ibid.	A
11	In Priscum	When Priscus rose from low to high estate	ibid.	A
11	In Gellam	If Gellaes beuty be examined	ibid.	A
11	In Syllam	Who dares affirme that Silla dare not fight	ibid.	A
12	In Francum	When ffrankus comes to solace with his whore	ibid.	A
12	In Septimium	Septimius lues & is like garlicke seene	ibid.	A
12	In Crassum	Crassus his lies ar not pernicious lyes	ibid.	A
13	In Paulum	By lawfull mart but by vnlawfull stealth	ibid.	A
13	In Lycum	Lycus that is to Venice lately gone	ibid.	A
13	In Publium	Publius the student at the common law	ibid.	A
14	In Fuscum	ffuscus is free & hath the World at will	ibid.	A
14	In Cyprium	The faire Youth Cyprius is more teirse & neate	ibid.	A
15	In valentiam	Why mervaille you that Valence hould his tounge		A
15	In Syllam	when I this proposition had defended	[John Davies]	A
15	In Scyllam	Scylla is often chalenged the field	ibid.	A
15	In Faustum	ffaustus nor lord, nor knight nor wise nor old	ibid.	A

*Appendices*

15	In Brumum	Brumus which thinks himselfe a faire sweet youth	ibid.	A
16	In Lyrum	Lyrus doth pray his tenants all may die		A
16	In Phylonem	Phylo the gentleman the fortuneteller	[John Davies]	A
16	In Macerum	thou canst not speake yet Macer: for to speake	ibid.	A
17	In Castorem	Of speaking well why doe we learne the stile	ibid.	A
17	In Afrum	The smell feast Afer trauels to the Burse	ibid.	A
18	Of Brothell houses	Error & lust guides of ad... men	Rob. Andrewes.	A
18	Churchyard	The man which vnto me you sent		A
18		ffaire was the morne & brightsome was the day		A
22	In Grunnum	Grunnus his pricke is like Paulsteeple turnd		A
23	Of Phoebus & Daphne	When Phoebus first did Daphne loue	Ch: R	A
23	In Iacobum	James thou hast brought from forraine landes	H.W.	A
23	An Epitaph vpon a bellowes maker	Here lies Iohn Godder maker of bellowes		A
23	Of on that making a play stole much out of Seneca his Tragedies	Put of thy Buskins Sophocles the great	I D [Hoskyns?]	A
24	To his Mrs	Sweet what doth he deserue that loues You soe	I D	A
24	Of Sir Francis Walsingham Sir Phillipp Sydney & Sir Christopher Hatto Lord: Caunc:	Sir ffrauncis & sir Phillipp haue no tombe	T[homas] B[astard]	A
24	An Epitaph vpon Iohn Craker	Heere lies the bones of gentle Iohn Craker		A
24		The end is all & on the prayse of things dependes		A
24	Ans:	A pudding hath 2 endes? You lye my brother	[Thomas Bastard]	A
25	An epitaph {	Here intombd doe I Roger Cobbler lie		A

*Appendices*

25	Cams prosopacia cui	Tayle haue I none nor hath the Ape. Who blames that	A
	cauda perudebatur	naked part?	
25	Simia responsio	Who nature blames in me withall skarce vnderstandes	A
25	Cam's Replicatio	To nature art is ape: by this I lost my tayle	A
25		A wanton is my lady [dice/4] in	A
25		When Hecuba with child of Paris was	A
25	In Gallam	Gella doth gape much like {	A
26		Ah silly Iohn surprized with ioye did make Iohn silly	A
26	In Hircum	Hircus incountrying with hott mrs ffranke	A
26	In Macerum	Macer doth hould that all our women kind	A
26		O Abington Abington god be with thee	A
27	In Marcum	Marcus a student at the lawe	A
27	In Marcum	Marcus once seing a faire gentlewoman	A
27	In Vxorem Cottam	When cotta dies his faire wife hath sworne	A
28	Wife	The dou W is double woe	A
28	respontio	Is w such double woe?	A
28		When sturdy stormes are past	A
28		Since maydes be gentle all dayes of their liues	A
28		Oh had thy mother borne so hard a mind	[Shakespeare] A
28		Euen as cold ingendereth hayle	A
28		A noe so courteous that it seemd to craue	B
28		Store is no sore	[John Heywood] A
28		her lyes the man that was borne & cried	A
29	A medicine for the	Learne yea faire Ladies from a doctours witt	A
	greene sicknes.		
	Probatum es		
31		Lyndaes faire face is worth no tounge can tell	A
31		Combus I say, is both learned and wise	A
31		A Iape for iest old Geoffrey Chaucer vsed	A
32	Sir Walter Wrawly his	Goe soule the bodies guest	A

	lye			
34	Resp.	Courtes skorne, states disgracinge		A
35	[Blank]			A
36	... the matching	Two Lions kept this sheafe on Civill shoare		A
	mariadge of the Earle			
	of Oxford with a			
	duaght of the L:			
	Treasurers...			
37	On the other side off	Come Ladies, healpe haruest home, our cart is layd,		A
	the Rocke...	leape sing & daunce		
37	And for that the	ffrom out that maiesty & aufull port		A
	honour...			
38	of Mr Edward Louells	Dispaire not Nedd she may proue a loue-ell		A
	loue			
38	Louell of his loue	Calia reports I am a proper man		A
	bycause she sayd he			
	was a proper man but			
	for his longe legges			
38		Vnliterate Peasants through the world report		A
39	In Clayum	Go to the wars youngegallant Clayus goe	I[ohn] D[avies?]	A
39		Sweet mistress Nerea let it not thee greiue		A
39		Celia being angry, that I would not stay		A
40		Chaunge thy mind syth she doth chaunge		A
41		W: wheare am I least husband: quoth he in the wast	[John Heywood]	A
41		H Wife I will no more play at Tables with thee	[John Heywood]	A
41		H. is the worst amongst letters in crosse row	[John Heywood]	A
41		What bringst thou from the sermon Iacke? declare that	[John Heywood]	A
41		To a iustice a Iuggler did complaine	[John Heywood]	A
41		What wind can their blow that doth not some man	[John Heywood]	A
	please			

41		Weare I to wedd againe wife I make a vow	[John Heywood]	A
41		I wish thou hadst a little narrow mouth Wife	[John Heywood]	A
42		Sute hang halfe a yeare in Westminster hall	[John Heywood]	A
42		Drawer thy wine is euen with thee now I see	[John Heywood]	A
42		Is thy husband a Dyar woman? alacke	[John Heywood]	A
42	of a debter	Doth your maystership remember your debt to me	[John Heywood]	A
42		I was neuer but an honest man	[John Heywood]	A
42		Is he such an expert man an expert man?	[John Heywood]	A
42		Sweating sickness so fearest thou beyond the marke	[John Heywood]	A
42		Is he at a point with his creditors? yee	[John Heywood]	A
42		Is that Gentlemans name master Carter? Yea	[John Heywood]	A
43		Beware of pride sayeth thou to me	[John Heywood]	A
43		I brought thee late an old rich widdow to woo	[John Heywood]	A
43		Wheare is thy plate? Len out to a mariage	[John Heywood]	A
43		In sommers heat at midtyme of the day	[Christopher Marlowe]	A
43		O noble Tarse loues slaue out of my codpeece rise		A
44		Heere lyes Dick Loche		A
44		A Lady Faire two suiters had	I D	A
44	In Dacum	Dacus with some good colour and pretence	[John Davies]	A
44	In Marcum	Why doest thou Marcus in thy misery	F.D [John Davies]	A
44	Epitaphe vppon Mr Calfe	O deus omnipotens vituli miserere Iohannis...		C
44		O god in our behalfe		A
45	Beast his sonnett	O loue whose power and might		A
46	Best to his mistris	Cupid is blind men say		A
47	her answeare	your letter I receuied		A
48	Epigrames per B.R.	Baldus did neuer sweare since he was born	B.R	A
48	In Chus	Chus doth so often to the Doctor goe	ibid.	A

*Appendices*

48	In Brillum	Do but marke Brillus his acquaintaunce well	ibid.	A
48	In Goll.	Goll calde to see a freind as he did passe	ibid.	A
48	In Gildum	Gildus at feasts doth talke & carue & call	ibid.	A
48	In Mullum	For giuing him the lye mullus sweares hee'le tickle mee	ibid.	A
49	In Claram	Clara halfe angry with my baudy songe	ibid.	A
49	In mathonem	Matho the dauncer with the maple face	ibid.	A
49	In eundem	Matho doth all his epigrams compare	ibid.	A
49	In Celsam medicum	The Physicke doctore Celsus mett me late	ibid.	A
50	In Trogam	Trogus by plaintes & cryes may winn his loue	ibid.	A
50	In eundem	Trogus mee thinks should hate all comedyes	ibid.	A
50	In monum	Monus when he walkes late his hatt doth beare	ibid.	A
50	In Annam	Kind Anna to her husband kist these wordes	ibid.	A
50	In morgum	Mistaking braynes prayse morfus wit for great	ibid.	A
50	In valpum	To weare a weapon tis not Valpus	ibid.	A
51	In morgum	Morgus all weomen courtes in this one fashion	ibid.	A
51	In Limbum	Lymbus mongst many weomen is reputed	ibid.	A
51	In Gulchin	Pallas in Gulchins head did neuer dwell	ibid.	A
52	In Tortorum	Torto is proud for that he hath bin scene	ibid.	A
52	A Generall rule	A rule full tried & generall	ibid.	A
52	An exception against the Rule	A rule infallable is this say you	ibid.	A
52	In Grannus	Grannus why did you take it so in the snuff	ibid.	A
52	In Gulchin	Nature in all things showes her selfe a mother	ibid.	A
53	In eundem	Philosophers hould this a certaine ground	ibid.	A
53	In Gellam	Gella I often tymes haue hard men say	ibid.	A
53		no art nor engin can nature alter	ibid.	A
53	Doctor Butlers grace when none wear in his company but fidlers	when Iesus came to Iairus bower	ibid.	A
54	In Spongum	Spongus is accounted a braue Gallant	ibid.	A

*Appendices*

55	In Gulchin	I know none dare ne none say can	ibid.	A
55	In Bruncum	Bruncus for playing once Vlisses part	ibid.	A
55		We greiue to leerne that our old friend Nedd		A
55		I advise thee Niger to follow thyne eye		A
55		Little sayd soonne amended	[John Heywood]	A
56		As somme men say there is a kind of seede		A
56		Sweet is the stroke of well tuned strings		A
56	she married one	but farewell thou though euer I faire ill		A
	William			
56		heer lyes neither more nor lesse		A
56		heer lyes Elizbeth Teather		A
56		Whear two are enough be not served with three		C*
57		If thou wilt liue and be my loue	[Christopher Marlowe]	A
57	Her answeare	If that the world & loue weare young		A
58		My loue bound me with a kisse		A
58		The goodly heare Gella doth weare	[John Harington]	A
58	Christopher & Kate	C Tell me kate wheare are we now		A
59		Are weomen faire? Yea wondrous faire to see to		A
60	A Womans Complaint	How can the feeble forts but fall & yeild at last		A
61	honi soit quy mal y pense	It was a tyme when silly bees could speake	[Essex]	A
65	A Libell against some Grayes Inn gentlemen and Reuellers	How happens it of purpose or by chaunce		A
67	A Libell against Mr Bash	I know not how it comes to passe		A
74	Riddle me Rachell whats this / that a	It is a kind of pleasing sting		A

	man handles when he		
	does pisse		
75	Now riddle me Robin	It is a wound that nature giues	C*
	& tell me thus much /		
	Quid significat a Cut		
	in Dutch.		
76	Byshope Fletcher & &	The pride of Prelacy which now long since	A
	my lady Baker		
77		Weomen are godly wyse & excellent	[John A
			Harington]
77		Mall maketh moane she'es troubled in her mind	A
78	laus et vituperium rei	The ffeminine kind tis counted ill	A
	varijs modis effectr		
78		Ned wottst thou what Philemon is become	A
79		Caecus the pleader hath a Lady wedd	A
80		ffollow the law & let Primero goe	A
80		Maddam Olimpia rydeth in her coach	A
81		Holla my Muse leaue Caecus in his greife	A
81		Emilia embracing many guifts & loues	D
82		And doe you think I haue naught abode	A
89	vppon Dr Buttler who	Heer lyes a Phisitian that hated pelf	D
	would take no mony		
89	vppon a Batchaler	He was an Hermophrodite as it was sayd	D
89	Vppon poor Poet	Heer haue I many tymes lost my dinner	D
	Owen whose effigies		
	& Epitaph was set vp		
	in Paules with verses		
	by the By: of Lincoln,		
	& Lord keep of &c		
89		Parva tibi statua est quis parua statura suppellex	E*



*Appendices*

90	Bastardes Libell	ffy brethren schollers fy for shame		A
97	Epitaph vppon Mr	On the twenty fourth of Nouember		A /
	Prick of Christcolledge			D
98		Now what is loue I pray thee tell		A
100		Who heareth all and speketh nought	[John Heywood]	A
100		wheare will is good & witt is ill	ibid.	A
101		He cast a sheepes eye at her, a straung eye spread	ibid.	A
101		I did sett a good face the matter Ione	ibid.	A
101		He may ill runn that cannot goe	ibid.	A
101		hunger droppeth out of his nose	ibid.	A
101		T'is good to be merry and wise	ibid.	A
101		Thy tounge runns before thy witt that's no rash race	ibid.	A
101		Doe younge Brydes hate indeede sweet Venus toyes	[Catullus]	A
101		Provender Pricks him; that horse must needes sturr	[John Heywood]	A
101		Better to haue then wish, nay you may so craue	ibid.	A
101		Thou takest pepper in the nose which needeth not	ibid.	A
101		He is a merchaunt without mony or ware	ibid.	A
101	Rose to his mrs	ffaine would I bend the bowe whearin to shoote I sue		A
102		Thine delayes thee breed remorce		A
103		Sixe of the weakest sort & purest sect	[John Harington]	A
103	An Epitaph vppon	Come prythy Alecto & lend me thy torch		A
	Churchyard the poet			
103		Heer lyes sir Harry Cromwell		A
103		wher two will suffice be not served with three		A
103	H. Cromwell	This tombe incloses		A
103	sir Horatio Palavasino	Heer lyes sir Horatio as it is meet		A
104	The blazon of all sorts	A Papist Couchant is that kind of man		A
	of Papists			
106		Mens fear & formall kindness		A

*Appendices*

107		That Dacus fought & hurt was donn		A
107		My mistris is a Shittlecock composd of corke & feather		A
109		Downe came graue auncient Sir Iohn Crooke		A /
				D
114	[Blank]			-
115	An Epitaph on Sir Wm Stone	Heer ten in the hundred lyes dead & ingraued		A
115		heer lyes Iohn Taylor of Comon street		A
115		The radiant splendor of Tom Hortons nose		A
115		Qui petit accipiet, Iacobus Apostulus inquit		A
115		Who asks sayth the Apostle Ieames shall haue		A
115		Mittitur in disco mihi piscis ab Archiepiscopo....		A
115		A fysh was sent me in a dish from the Archishop...		A
115		Cruell death with his besome swept Sir Horatio from Babrum		A
116	vppon Dr Legg mr of Cayus Colledge	Had ever Colledg such cause of woe		A
116		Qui modo venisti nostram mendicus in vrbem	[John Owen]	E
116		Coniugio esse iugum non intollerantius vllum	ibid.	E
116		Femmeo generi tribuunt, propria quae maribus	ibid.	E
116		Obscuri pater Aeneas loca caeca per Orci	ibid.	E
116	Maritus	Hanc ego me vxorem duxi: tulit alter amorem	ibid.	E
116	In Bythynicum	Ne tua sit posthac Bythynice cana senectus	ibid.	E
116	In Pontiam	In mare cornutos iaciendos Pontius inquit	ibid.	E
116	In Venerem	Cur venus illicitum sequitur Vulcania Martem	ibid.	E
116	Clyrus	Cantabunt reduces coram latrone Clientes	ibid.	E
117	In Camellam	Paeta Camilla procis ambita et amata duobus	ibid.	E
117	In Cottam	Intrasset calidum nuper cum Cotta Lupanar	ibid.	E
117	In Albinum	Nunc tua agitur paries nam proximus ardet	ibid.	E
117	De Bardella	Bardellam Monachus solans in morte latronem	ibid.	E

*Appendices*

117	In Costum	Tu peccas impune at non tua mentula: nuper	ibid.	E
117	In Sextilianum spurium	Te cum progenuit non credo creare volebat	ibid.	E
117	In Pomponiam	Corpore cum quaestum faciat Pomponia, punctus	ibid.	E
117	ad Marinum	Si sit difficilis quae pulchra, Marine puellam	ibid.	E
118	Sara	Quæ velit ancillam concedere nupta marito	ibid.	E
118	In Paulam Atheam	Vir ducatne duas, an nubat virgo duobus	ibid.	E
118	de cornibus	Si quando sacra iura tori violaverit vxor	ibid.	E
118	Rara avis in terris	Brigo puellari morbo Burgunda laborans	ibid.	E
118	In Langam	Langa Lutherano nubens Papana marito	ibid.	E
118	In Alanam	In thalamo nature locum cui praebuilt imum	ibid.	E
118		Cur tam dissimilem sibi te genuere parentes	ibid.	E
118		Si nihil ad suavem spectarent basia gustum	ibid.	E
118		Quis diues? Spaines. Quis pauper? Sultus inersque	ibid.	E
119	In ebriosum	Tam potabile si foret aurum optabile quam sit	ibid.	E
119	Ira	An quia virtutem soleat calcare vocavit	ibid.	E
119	Desperate debt	Debitor vxoris quis non? Solvendo quis autem	ibid.	E
119	In Marcum venustum	Marce tui partem venus improba adussit, vt esses	ibid.	E
119		Dens quasi dictus edens, lingua a ligendo vocata	ibid.	E
119	Psittacus	Si rerum sit fas inverter nomina, Parret	ibid.	E
119	Libido	Defrome nigra formosa nocte videri	ibid.	E
119	Ad Adamum Anagram. Eva	Eva, parens mortis malo te falsa fefellit	ibid.	E
119		Diuitiae atque metus comites sunt, spes et egestas	ibid.	E
119	Coniuges	Vxorem Vir amato, marito pareat vcor	ibid.	E
119	Studium	Amentes siunt studiosi scire studentes	ibid.	E
119	ad Amicam absentem	Vror amore miser, tantoque potentius vror	ibid.	E
119	In Vitum	An sis cornutus Vite nescio, te scio Taurum	ibid.	E
120	In quamdam	Res tibi in imensum quam parvo tempore crevit	ibid.	E
120	In Acerram	Felix quem faciunt alirna cornua cautum	ibid.	E

*Appendices*

120	ad Ponticum	Esse duos oculos miror tibi pontice cuius	ibid.	E
120	ad Pinotum	Esse velim venerem qualem Pinote requiris	ibid.	E
120	ad Marinum	A lecto surgit quoties inacta Marine	ibid.	E
120	Children & fooles tell truth	Anglia veridicos dicunt proverbial stultos	ibid.	E
120	Hodie	Hoc quod adest, hodie, quod nomen habebat heri? Cra	ibid.	E
120	In battum	Batte tacenda vltro loqueris, veniamque precaris	ibid.	E
120	Suum cuique pulchrum	Plus tibi vicini coniux, tua plus placet illi	ibid.	E
120	Dactilus	Ad dominam intrepido vis tendere carmina cursu?	ibid.	E
121	vppon mr Newcom of Clare hall which died asoon as he came	Weepe yea Clareans weep round about		A
121		O Ireland wilt thou still; persist in savadfe wyse		A
122		When Caecus had bin wedded now three dayes	[Henry Parrot]	A
122		Gallus will haue no barber prune his beard	[Samuel Rowlands]	A
122		Heer lyes Sir Iohn Spenser an ell vnder ground		A
123		Field the player on his Mistriss the Lady May		A
123		And is not this straunge; & is not this straunge [On Britain's Burse]		A
124		That I doe loue, it comes by kind		D
125		Now is the pleasant tyme addrest		A
125	On a Papist	Some him a Pillar of the Church do call		D
125		Take comfort Ianus neuer fear thy head		D
125		What is the substance of Loue? Constancy & secrecye		D
126	An Epitaph vppon Peter Lambert	Heer lyes the Captayne of the Damned crue		A
126		heer lyes my Lady Rych, see what fates can doe		D
126	on Fran: Flower	heer lyes flos florum		D

*Appendices*

127	Sir Thomas Gresham	Scribere cur cessam Militis de funera Gresham	A
127	Filius Slaughteri	O cruell death if thou bee'st set on slaughter moribundus	A
127	Vt Causa decreta	Custodi fido Magni (Rex magne) Sigilli Sigillum obtineat	?
128	Sir Tho: Overbery	Each woman is a Breif of woman kynd wyfe	A
137		The smallest trees haue topps the Ant her gall	D
137		Heer lyes mr Overton & his wife	A
138		When Mighty Ioue raynes showers of gould	A
138		Why should dull ignoraunce imbrace	?
138		If {...} haue part. If two in you haue part	?
139	Of Sir Robert Carr	Lady chaynd to Venus Doue	?
	Earl of Somerset & the diuorced Lady of the E of Essex that went for a mayd still his present wife.		
139		Loue if a god thou art then evermore thou must	A
139		Carentius might haue wedded whear he wood	[Thomas A Freeman]
139		I can nor stand nor sitt nor goe the begger cries	A
140		Why is not Vulcan many tymes I wonder	A
140		ICVR, good mounseir Carr	D
140		Reader look toot	D
141		My loue doth sitt as near & as close to my hart within	D
141	Tobacco	Excitat in stomache vomites facit et Cacapumpas	?
141		He that would learne to pledg a health in hell	[John Ford] A
141		O Lady fyne If thou'lt resigne If thou'lt inclyne	D?
142		Long haue I liu'd in longing loue	D

*Appendices*

143	[Blank]			-
144		Cooke Lorrell would needs haue the devill his guest	[Ben Jonson]	D
146	The Physicians of London	Ladyes now gladd yea heer comes Dr Paddy		D
150		London is a fyne Town & a fayre Citty		D
151	Vppon Sambournes Shreiuallty at Oxford	Fye schollers fy haue you such thirsty soules		D
152	An Epitaphe on an Infant deceased	Within this little Casket lyes		D
153	Lo: H Howard	The great Archpapist learned Curio		D
153		ffayre Beatrice tuckt her coat vp som what high	[John Taylor]	D
154	A graue Poem as it was presented in Latin by certaine deuines.... To the tune of Bonny Nell	It is not yet a fourth night sence	[Richard Corbet]	D
159	The Answere	A Ballad late was made		D
163		Come my loue come sitt down by thy deare		D
164		Tell me dearest what is Loue?		D
165		Down laye the Sheppard Swayn so sober & demure		D
166		I went from England into ffraunce		D
171		All you that women loue & like the Amorous trade		D
171	Stanford Mr Elmes vppon his wife at Swinstead	One thousand fiue hundereth Ninetye & three		D
172		Gutt eates all day & lechers all the night	[Ben Jonson]	D
172		Loue is a game at Tables, whear the Dye	[Ayton]	D
172		Mall : once in pleasant company by chaunce	[Harington]	D
173	vppon the picture of Mrs E: B which was	Heers all the beuty Death left him that drew her		D

	taken after she was		
	dead		
174	De Iesuitis	Amion Sacerdos est Iesuita?_____ Ita	D
175		The Parliament sitts with a Synod of witts	D
177	Dr Corbet / Epita:	All who haue eyes awake & weepe;	D
	vppon King Ieames		
178	Bass	There is a certain idle kind of creature	D
179	W: Austin invited to	Oysters men vse their stomachs first to stay with	D
	be a god father to		
	ones chyld that owed		
	him vl inclose the		
	bond..... With theise		
	verses....		
179	Epitaph vppon one	A taylor is bad, but a Sergeant is worse	D
	Taylor a Sergeant		
	whom a Brewers		
	horse kild		
180	Georgius Dux	Mens bona non vaga sors, virtus non gratia regis	D
	Buckinghamiea		
180	Gondamor. Anagram.	This dog will fawn (bark, byte rather then fayl	D
	Roman Dog		
181	[Blank]		-
186		Est melior probita quae nullo sanguine claret	C
186		Iniurious force is oft tymes wondrous pleasing	D

Appendix 5: Manuscripts of the Davison Psalms

Metrical psalms by Francis Davison unless marked otherwise.

Manuscript	Notes	Date
Chetham's Library MS A.4.15	Psalms 6, 13, 15, 23 ('Great Jehouah daines'), 30, 79, 86, without any prefatory poems, copied by hand E at the very end of the volume.	Undated, 1620s?
Bodleian. MS Rawl. D. 316, 122r-128v	Psalms 1, 13, 15, 6, and all three versions of 23 (the last incomplete), with an 'Induction' by Francis Davison and eulogy by William Bagnall, copied in a booklet in a neat italic hand. Attributed, and some with (supposed) dates of composition.	Undated, 1610s- 1620s?
British Library MS Harl. 6930 (L30)	Psalms 1, 6, 13, 15 (by Christopher Davison), three versions of 23, 30, 73, 79, 86, 125 (by Christopher Davison) 128, 130, 131, 133, 137, within a partial psalter of some forty-five Psalms attributed to various others; with Davison's 'induction', that of Bagnall, and a third elsewhere attributed to 'Ios. Br'.	Undated, c. 1620s?
Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 61 (O61)	Psalms as in L30. Copied by Ralph Crane in a volume of religious verse addressed to one John Peirs.	Oct. 23 1626
British Library MS Harl. 3357	Psalms as in L30. Copied by Crane, within a volume of religious verse (different to the selection in O61) addressed to Sir Francis Ashley (brother of Crane's former patron Sir Anthony Ashley).	1632 Decem.



Appendix 6: Textual variants between manuscripts of the Davison Psalms

An example is taken from three copies of ‘Lord whilst thy iust rage is bidinge’, as consulted in MC15, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>; Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 316, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>; Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 61, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>. I have undertaken to list all variants including spelling and punctuation, since these may be relevant to concerns over copying, even if not overtly relevant to issues in authorial revision or textual corruption.

Line no.	MC15	O Rawl Poet 61	O Rawl D 316
	<b>Title</b> Psalme. 6 <sup>o</sup> ./	<u>6. Psalme.</u>	Psalme: 6: Domine ne in furore &cs.
<b>1</b>	Lord, whilst bidinge	Lord while biding	Lord while biding
<b>2</b>	[ <i>Is</i> ] not chidinge	not, chiding	not, chiding
<b>3</b>	poore sinfull	pooure-faultie	poore faulty
<b>3</b>	mee	me;	mee.
<b>4</b>	lett me sinns inflames	let me sins enflames	let mee; sinnes inflamm
<b>5</b>	fury	Furie	fury
<b>6</b>	Lord bee.	(Lord) be;	Lord, bee.

<b>7</b>	Butt	But	But
	for pittie,	(for pittie)	for pittie,
	pittie	Pittie	pitty
	lend me	lend-me,	lend me
<b>8</b>	health (oh)	health, ô	health oh
	send me	send-me,	send me
<b>9</b>	restles	restles,	Resles
	helthles	healthles	helples
	weight	wight	wight:
	~	(~)	~
<b>10</b>	Sicknes	Sicknes,	Sickenes
	youthes	youths	youths
	plucking	plucking,	plucking,
<b>11</b>	bloud	Bloud,	blood
	marrowe	marrow	marrow
	succking	sucking	sucking,
<b>12</b>	Leaves	leaves	Leaues
	me	me	mee
	strengthlesse	strengthles	strenghtles
	quite	quight	quite:
<b>13</b>	paynes	Paines	paines
	soe	so	so
<b>14</b>	Butt,	but	But
	soule	Soule	soul
	worse	worsse	worse
	confounded	~,	~
<b>15</b>	deadlie ill	deadly-ill	deadly ill
<b>16</b>	shall poore I	shall I	shall I
	afflicted	be neglected?	bee neglected

17	from	how long from	How long from
	be interdicted	reieted?	reieted
18	still	still?	Still;
	(Iehouah)	Iehouah	(~)
	still	still.	still
	Lord. Thyne eyes are	Lord screane thine Eies (ore-	Lord serene thyne Eyes
19	clouded	clowded)	oreclowed
20	Lett	Let	Let
	shrouded	shrowded	shrowded
21	from	from	ffrom
	eternal	eternall	eternall
	death	Death;	Death:
22	myrth	Mirth,	mirth
	passion	Passion,	passion
23	lett	Let	Let
	mee	me	mee
	yett	yet,	yet
24	drawe	draw	Draw
25	Drawe	draw	Draw
	breath	Breath;	breath;
	for	ffor	for
26	Thinke	thinck	Thinke
	of	on	on
	the	Thee,	thee;
27	too loud light	two-lou'd-light,	too=loud light:
28	night	Graue,	graue;
	rayses	raises	riases
29	voice	voice,	Voice
	harpe	Harpe,	harpe

	thie	thy	thy
	prayses	Praises	Praises
30	deathes night	Deathes-night?	deaths night?
31	and	and	&
	sobbes	Sobs	sobbs
32	desired	desired	desyred
33	nightes black	black-nights	Blacke nights
	houres	howres	howres
	rest	Rest,	rest
34	Butt	But	But
	myne	mine	myne
	eyes	Eies,	Eyes
	lifes iuce	lifes-Iuyce	lifes iuyce
	spending	~,	~,
35	Drownd	drowne	Drowne
	showres	showers	showres
	nere ending	(neuer ending)	ner-ending
36	oft-tumbled nest	oft-tumbled-Nest	oft tumbled nest:
37	gladnesse	Gladnes	gladnes
38	fate	Face,	face
	consuming sadnesse	consuming-Sadnes	conshuming sadnes
39	withered	witherd	witherd
	and	and	&
	dryd	dried,	dride;
40	youth	youth,	yoth
	aged	aged,	aged:
41	wronges	wrongs	wrongs
	nere	neu'r	ne'r

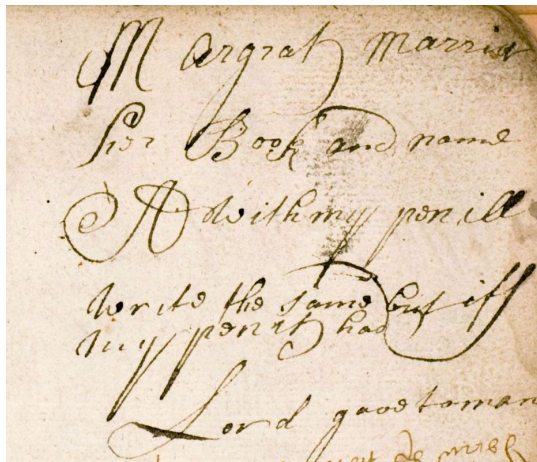
	asswaged	~,	~
42	dyed	died.	dyde
43	Butt	But	But
	hence	hence,	hence;
	evills	Evills,	Euills
44	menn	Men,	Men
	shewe	shew,	skew
	practise	practise	practis
	divells	Deuills,	Diuills
45	hence	hence,	Hence,
	awaie	away,	away,
	depart	depart,	depart
46	ffor	for	For
	heard	heard	hard
	pittie	pittie	pitty
47	sigh broken	sigh-broken,	sight-broken
	teare steept	Tear-steep'd	teare-sleept
	dittie	dittie	Ditty
48	hart	heart;	hart.
49	Heard	~;	~
	heard	heard	hard,
	acceptac <sup>i</sup> on	Acceptation	acceptation
50	deprecac <sup>i</sup> on	Deprecation	Deprecation;
51	viewed	view'd	veiwd
	teares	~;	~
52	heard	heard	hard,
	me	~	~;
	complayned	complained	complayned

53	him	~,	~
	heart	heart	hart
	vnfeyned	unfained,	vnfained
54	cheard	cheerd	cheard
	feares	~.	~.
55	foes	~,	~
	tremble	~,	~;
56	Bloud	Blood	Blood
	you <del>r</del>	your	y
	assemble	~,	~
57	~	(~)	~:
	guiltinesse	guiltynes	guiltines
58	Coward,	Coward	coward
	backs	~,	backes
	faynt harted	faint-hearted,	faint harted;
59	deserved	~	deserued
	subverted	subvected	subuarterd
60	wrechednesse	Wretchednes.	wretchednes.

Signed

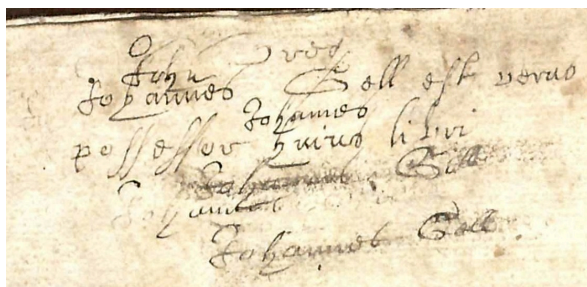
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Figures



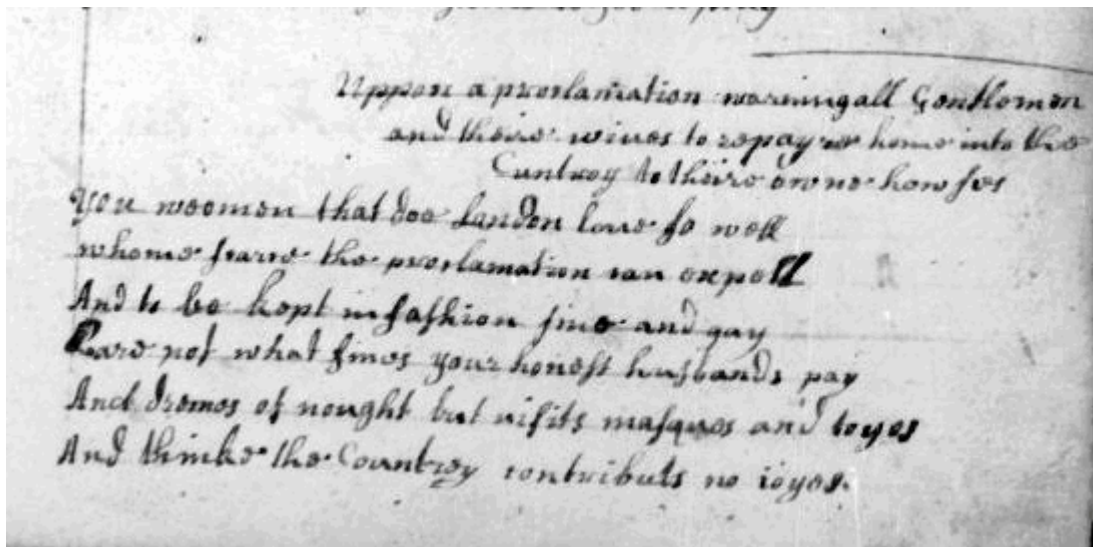
M Argat Maria  
 for Book and name  
 O with my pen ill  
 write the same but off  
 my pen it had  
 Lord good to man  
 but de mure

Fig. 1. Leeds, Brotherton library Lt 91, fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (inverted).



To John vob  
 Johannes Coll off veruo  
 possessor Johannes  
 possessor huius libri  
 Johannes Coll  
 Johannes Coll

Fig. 2. From Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, D258/34/36/2.



Upon a proclamation warning all Gentlemen  
 and their wives to repayre home into the  
 Countrey to their owne howses  
 You women that doe burden loose go well  
 whomee farre the proclamation can expell  
 And to be kept in fashion fine and gay  
 Care not what fines your honest husbands pay  
 And dreames of nought but nights masques and toyes  
 And thinke the Countrey contributs no ioyes.

Fig. 3. Folger MS V.a.276, part II, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>.

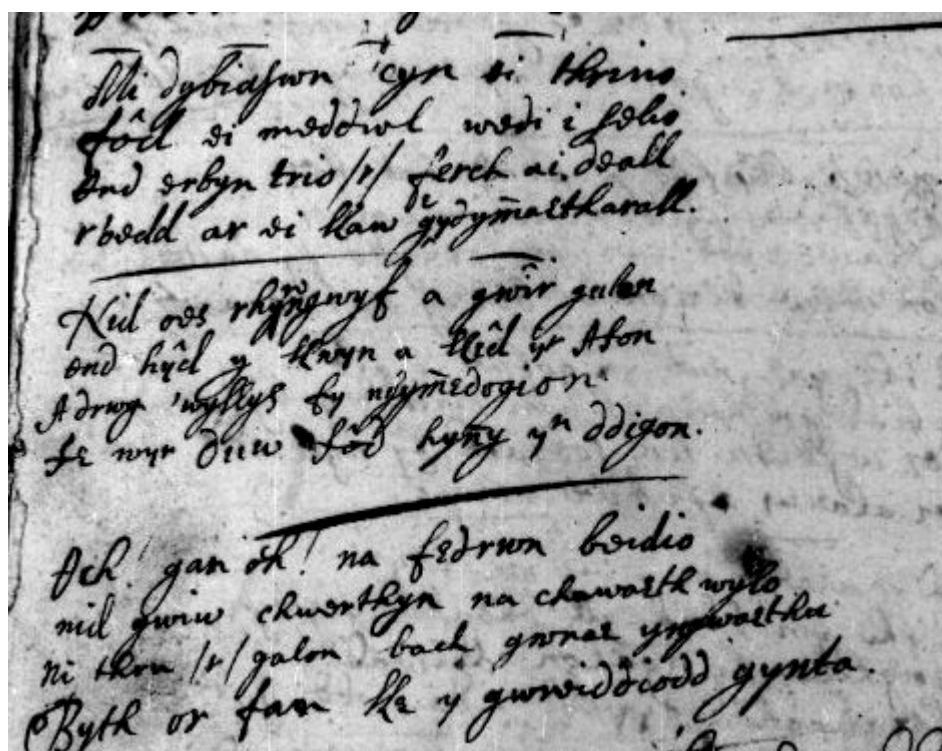


Fig. 4. Folger MS V.a.276, part I, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.



Fig. 5. The 'Pot' watermark of MC15.



Of y<sup>e</sup> losse of time. Per J. Hoskins  
If life be time & here is spent  
and time on earth be cast away  
who so his time hath here mispent  
hath hastned his owne dying day  
So it doth proue a killing crime  
to massacre our living time.  
If doing nought be like to death,  
of him y<sup>e</sup> doth Camelon wife  
take daily paines to draw his breath  
the passers by may pasquillize  
not here he liues: but here he dyes  
Of one y<sup>e</sup> had stolne much out  
of Seneca.  
Put of thy buskins Sophocles y<sup>e</sup> greater  
and murther treade vpon thy disarmed shankes.  
for this mans heade hath had a happier fate,  
whereof y<sup>e</sup> worlde doth conne him little thanks.  
Blush Seneca to see thy feathers loose  
pluckt from a Sparrow stuck vpon a gaffe.  
J. H.

Fig. 6. MC15, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

Who liueth well.  
 The man of life bright whose guiltless heart is free  
 From all dishonest deedes & thoughts of Vainitye  
 The man whose silent daies in harmles ioyes are spent  
 Whome hopes cannot delude nor sorrowes discontent  
 That man needes neither tower nor armor for defence  
 Nor secret vault to fly from Thunders violence.  
 But scorning all the changes fate or fortune brings  
 He makes the heauens his booke, his wisdoms heavenly things  
 Good thoughts his only friends, his wealth a well spent age,  
 The earth his sober fane, and quiet Pilgrimage.

Fig. 7. MC15, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>.

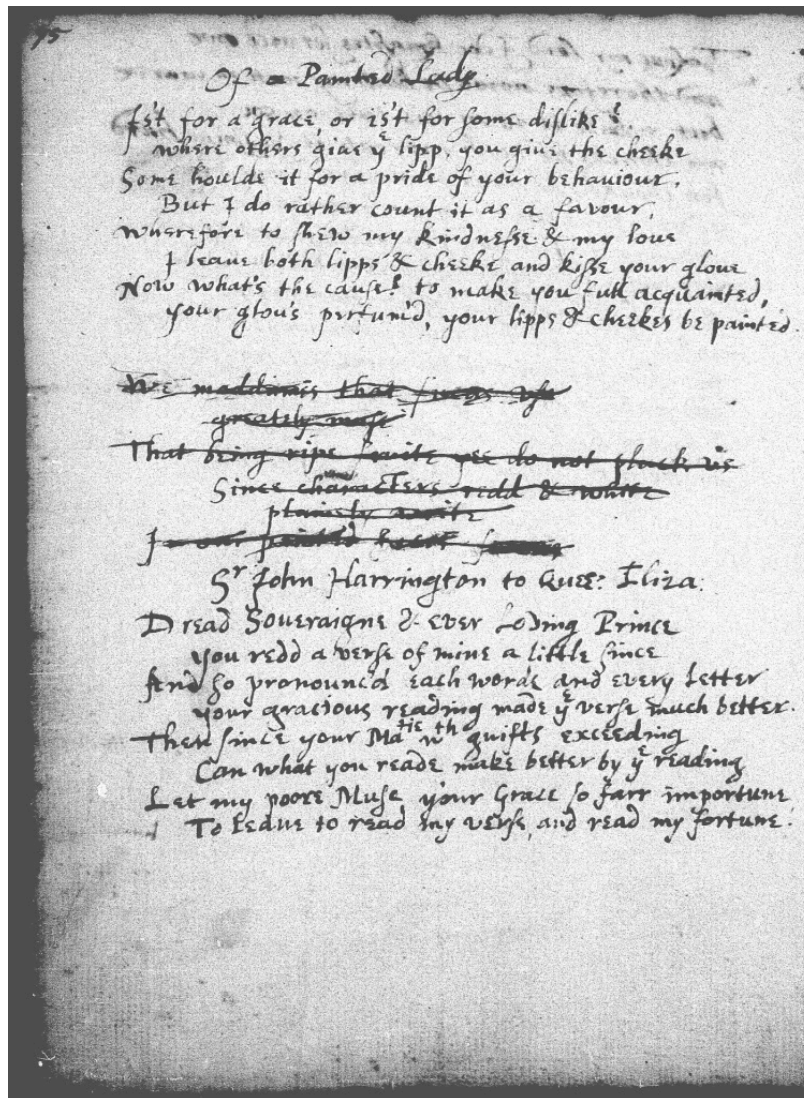


Fig. 8. MC15, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>.



1611  
 Sweetest in date he desire that loved you soe  
 at least some little fauour so desired  
 Wee you in future & in future  
 to him we all sure such deuotion  
 yet know you hee that he contented you not  
 Wee a sweet young man enamored  
 a feather off a fan a little loved  
 a young man a little or sure a little name  
 as for that token of love as hee  
 a little a little a little a little  
 but that we my affections would please  
 it is not more but a little more  
 yet we we we we we we we we we we  
 for all is but a little more  
 If Sir Francis & Sir Phillip  
 Sydney & Sir Christopher Hatton  
 Sir Francis & Sir Phillip  
 Sir Christopher Hatton  
 And yet they are not soe for want of some  
 or want of love in some posterity  
 we would see living & dead  
 to bury under a stone  
 but you need not say  
 let them be buried under a stone  
 In epitaph upon John Crabbe  
 There lies the bones of  
 we living was the best  
 but it is out of the power of God  
 to make the bones could not make  
 we end is all on the end  
 a wedding merriment double prayer  
 In the wedding merriment double prayer  
 at begins at ground and ends at the end

Fig. 9. PRF15, p. 24.



Quae velit ancilla concedere nupta marito  
 res est hoc nos pro tempore nata Sara  
 In Paula Althea.  
 Vir ducarne duas, an nubat virgo duobus  
 August: hanc litem solvere parata volens  
 Una vivis inquit magis apta duobus. In una  
 consistens aliter quomodo carne duo  
 de cornibus.  
 Si quando sacra iura tori violaverit vxor  
 Cur gentimentus cornua viri? Caput est  
 Sara avis in terris  
 Virgo puellari morbo Burgunda laborans  
 Jam desperata saepe salutis ope  
 A medicis Mentis consultis iussa minuta mentula.  
 Sumere quae multis utilis herba fuit  
 Quae par peccati vel auctore, maluit, id quod  
 peccati praeterit debuit eo, mori  
 In Langa.  
 Langa Luthurano nubens Papana marito  
 Anse, ut disfidij tolleres vis, ait  
 Inurgia ne pacem perturbent vestra futura  
 tu mihi sis facilis non ero dura tibi  
 Arbitrij libertate mihi cedito, eritque  
 de reliqua tecum sis mihi nulla fide  
 In Alana.  
 In thalamo natura loci cui praebuit imum  
 in mensa summas sumit Alana sibi  
 scilicet impera facit cum coniuge conuicta  
 dividit, hic noctes regnat et illa dies.  
 Cur tu dissimilem sibi te genere parentes  
 qui tamen unanimes te genere simul  
 certa tibi cecidit neutrius forma parentis  
 tu, te formes uter certat uterque parens.  
 Si mihi ad suavem spectarent basia gustu  
 oscula cum solo semper ab ore datus?  
 Quis dives? sapiens, quis pauper? stultus interque  
 si sapio, ergo brevi tempore dives ero  
 Quis sapiens? dives. quis stultus pauper moris  
 ergo si dives non ero stultus ero

Fig. 10. PRF15, p. 118.



Fig. 11. MC15, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.

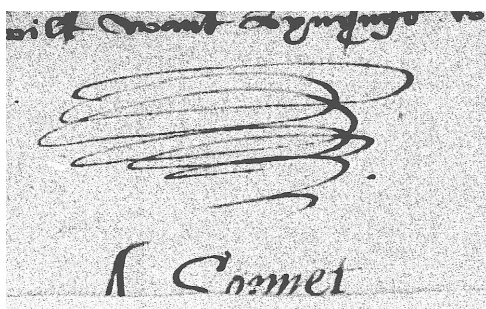


Fig. 12. MC15, 60<sup>r</sup>.

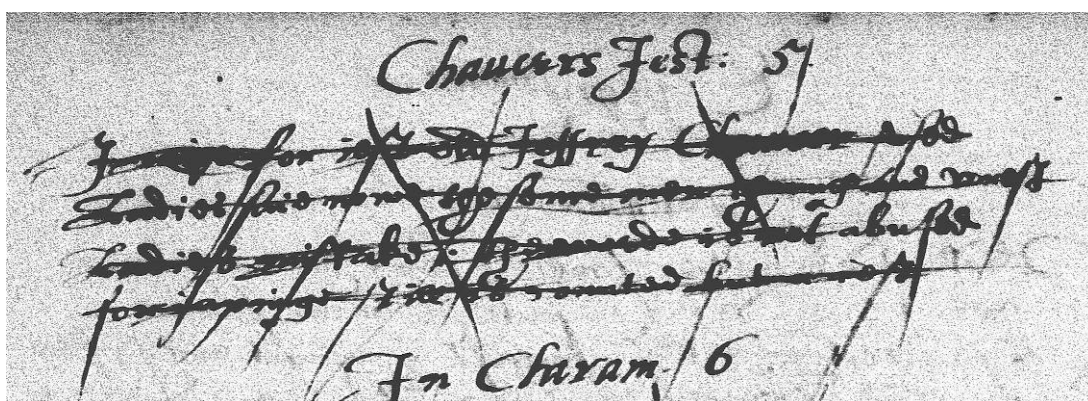


Fig. 13. MC15, fol. 75<sup>v</sup>.



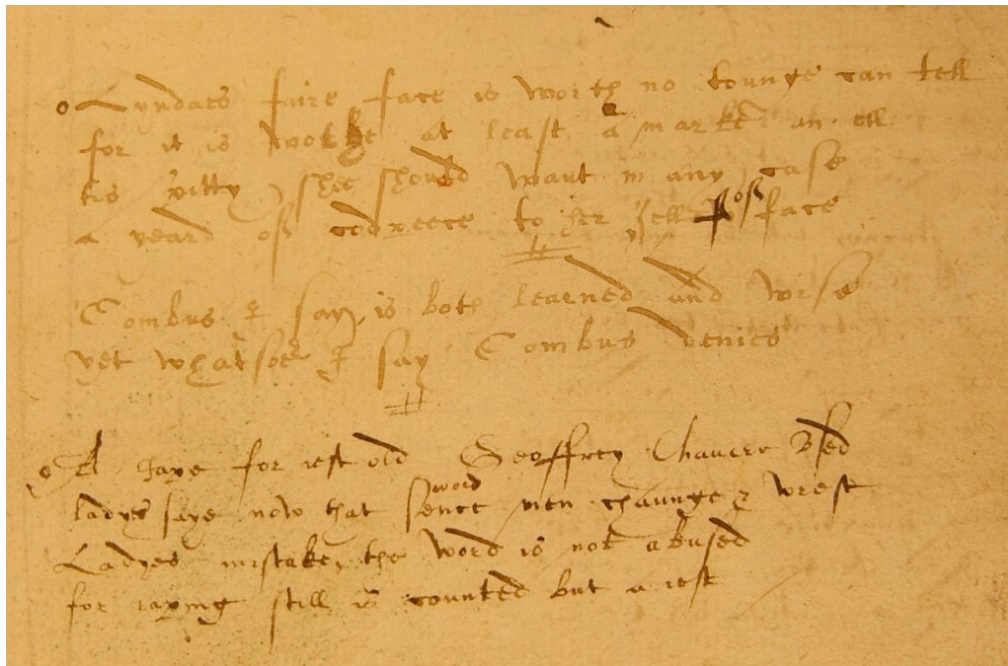


Fig. 14. PRF15, p. 31.

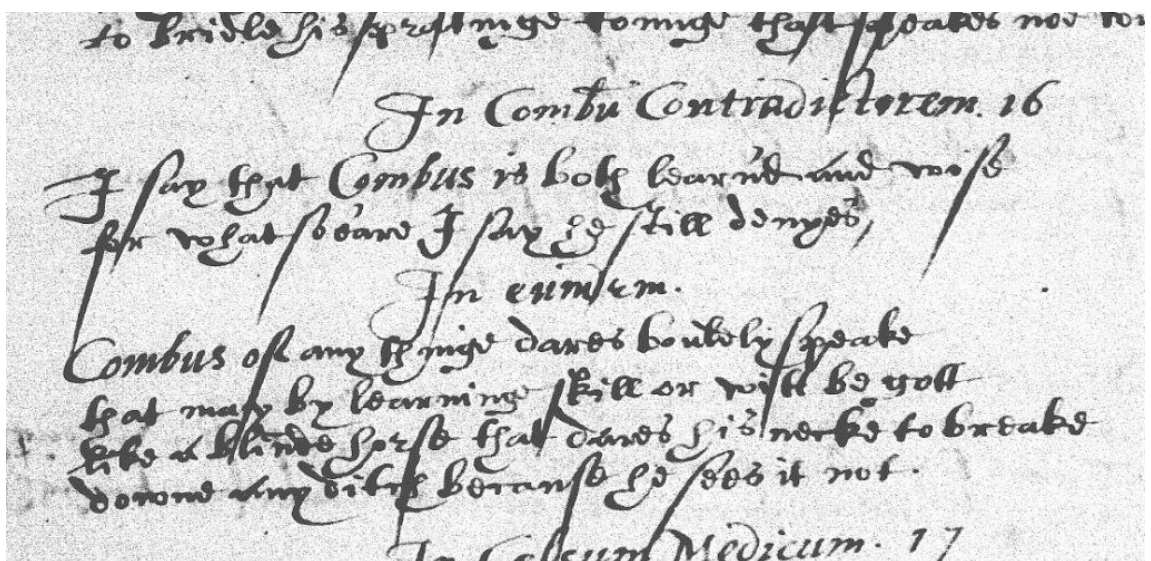


Fig. 15. MC15, 58v.

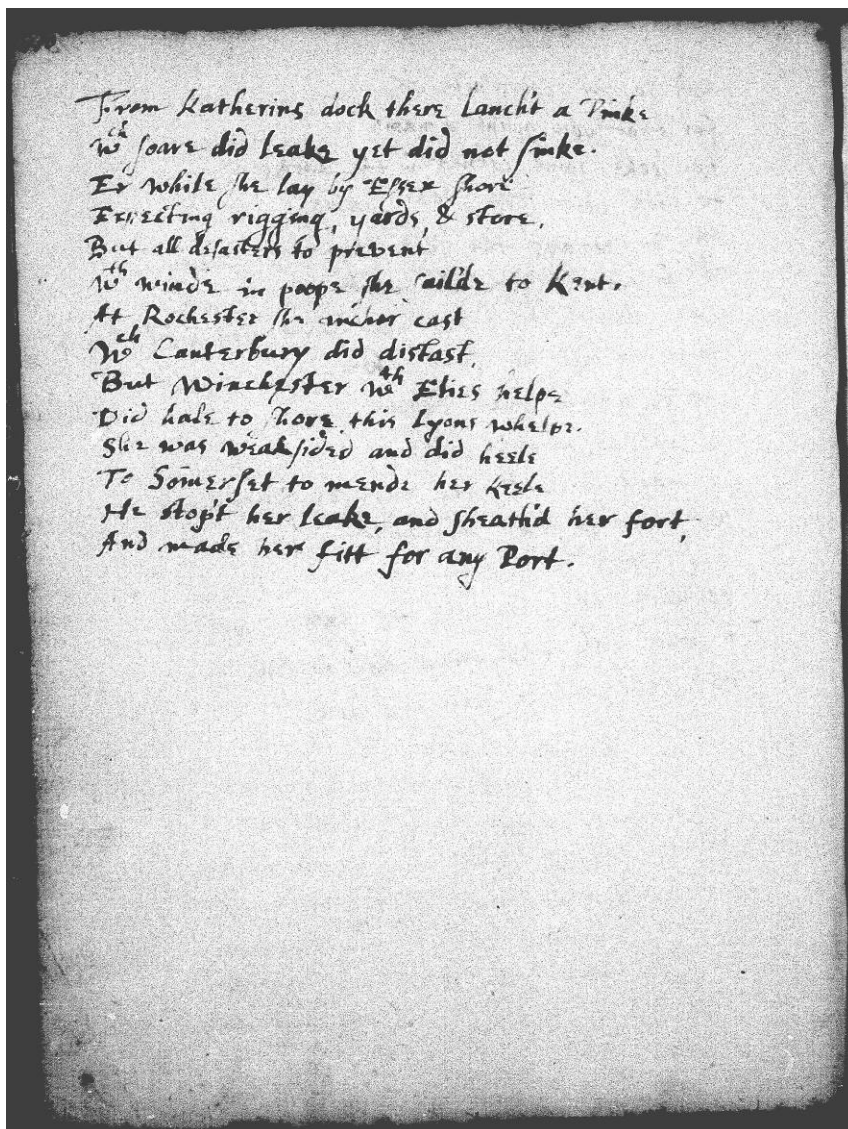


Fig. 16. MC15, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.



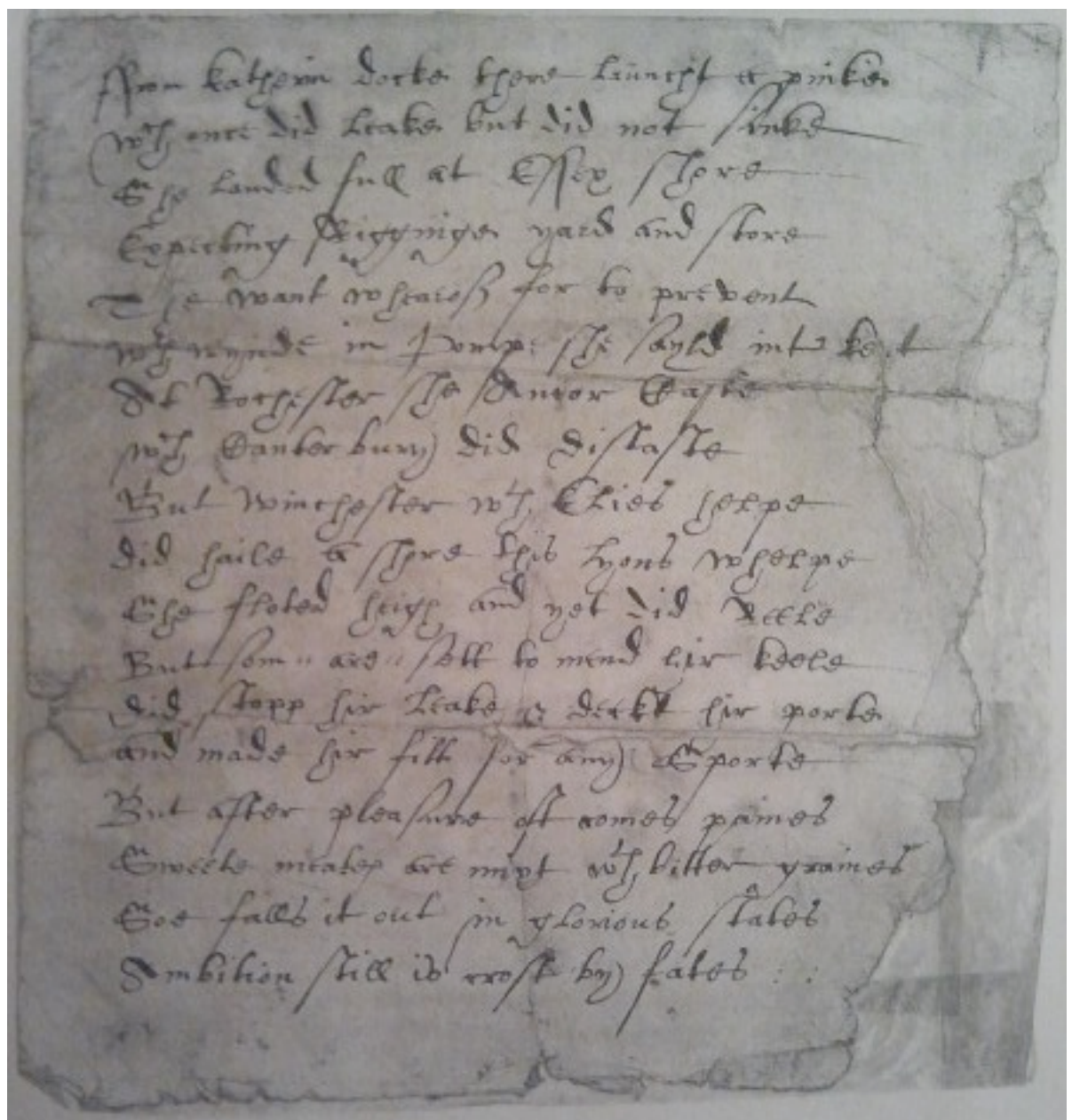


Fig. 17. Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office, D258/7/5/16.

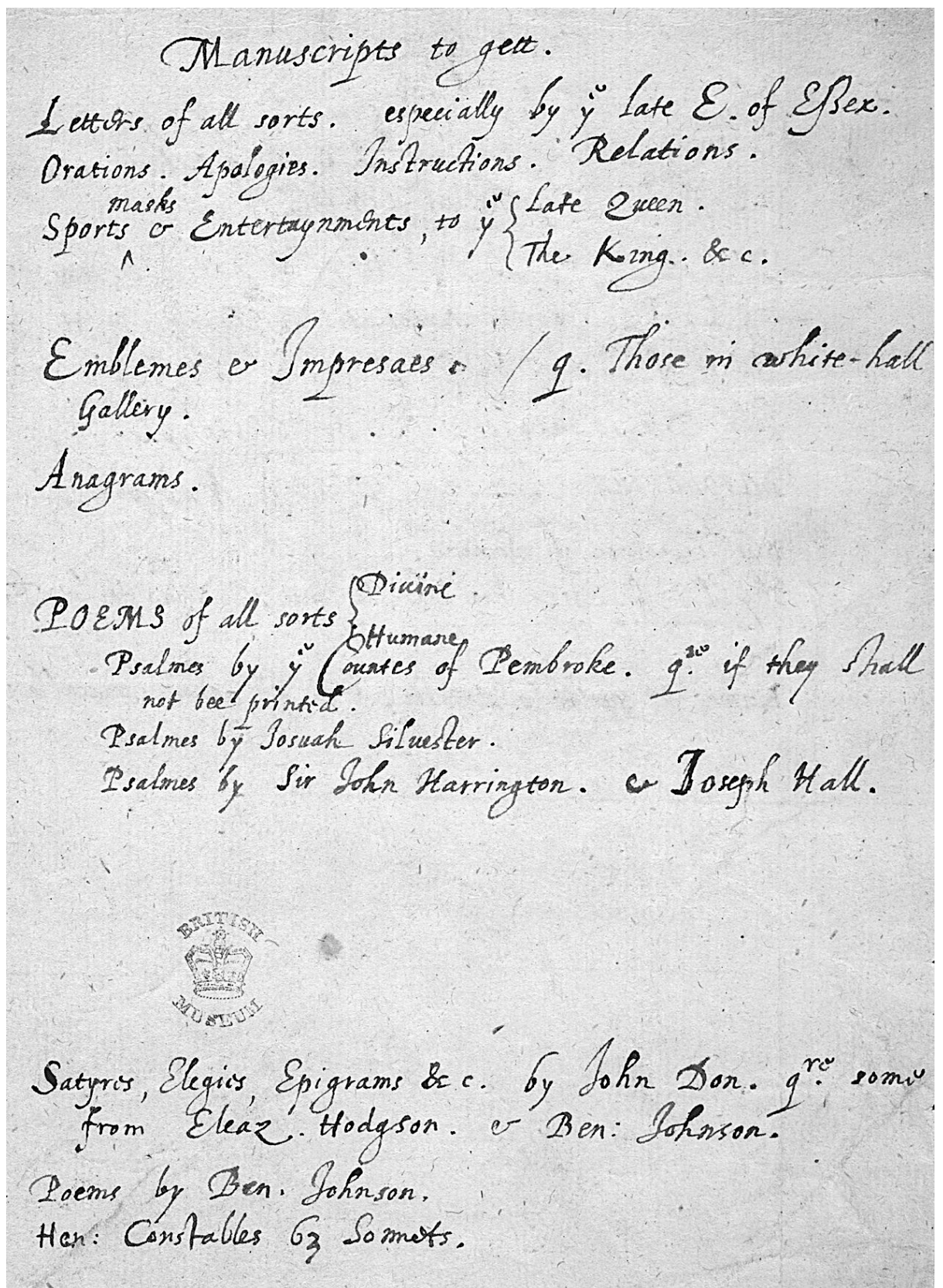


Fig. 18. BL Harl. 298, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>.

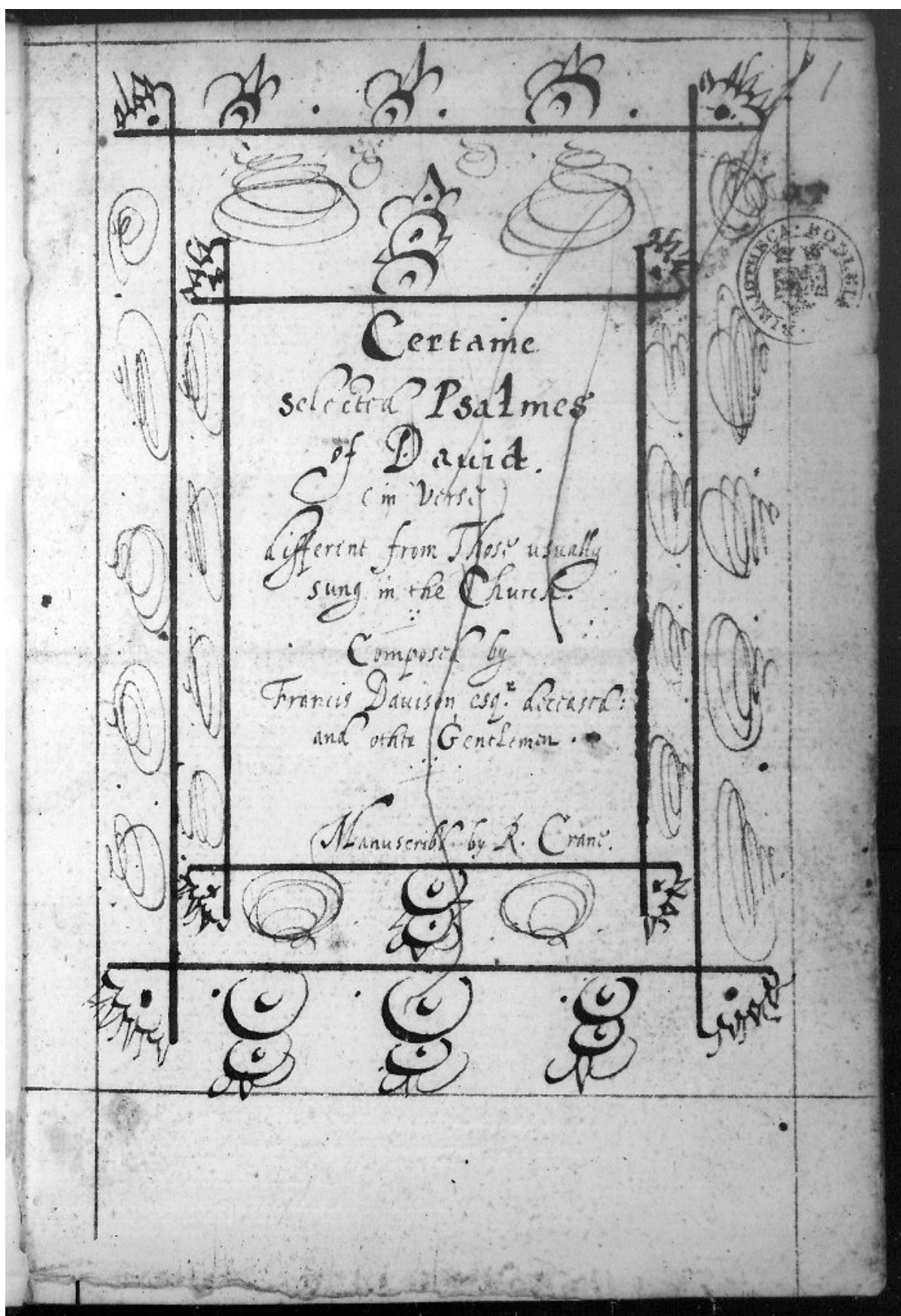




Fig 19. Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet, 61, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

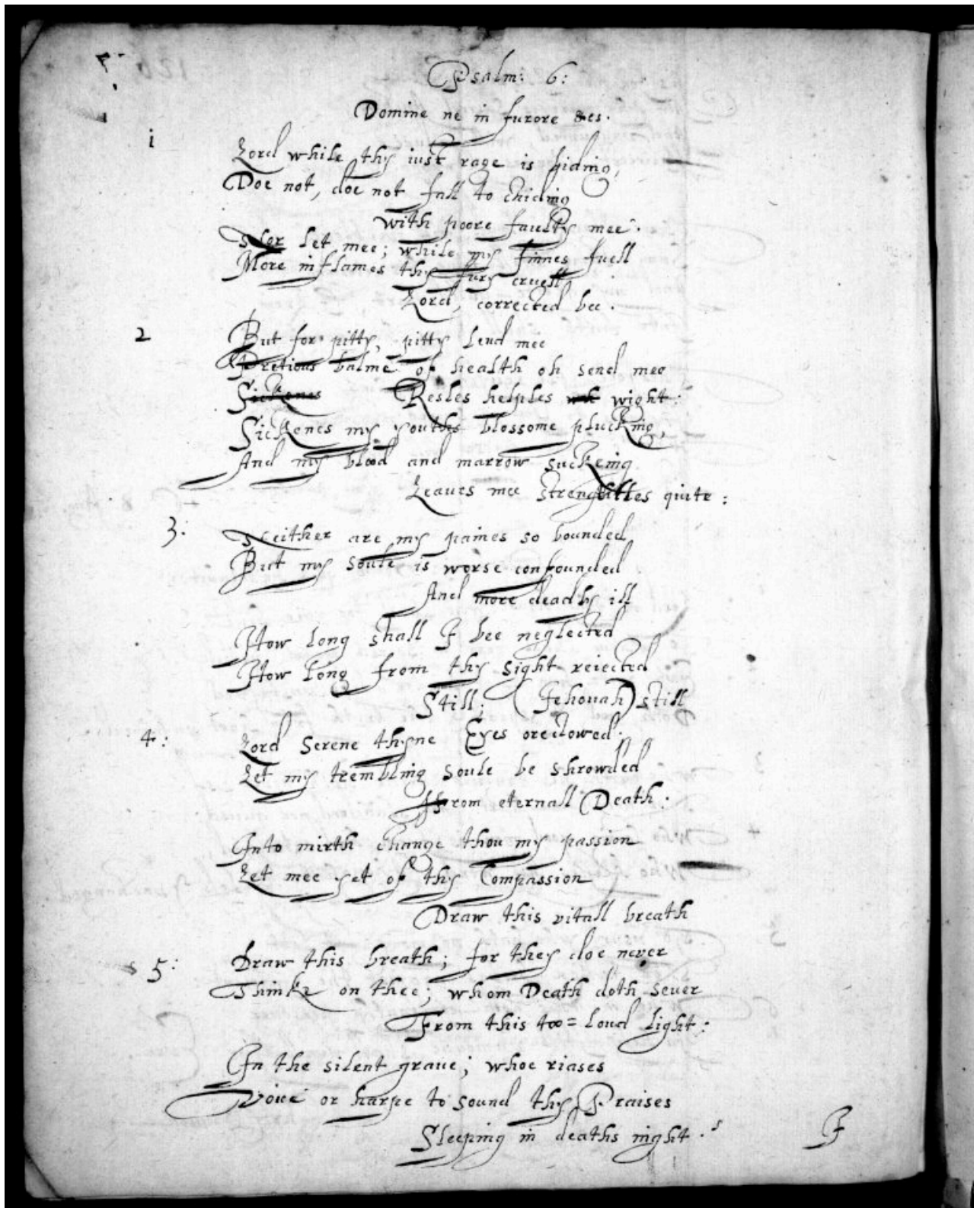


Fig 20. Bodl. Rawl. D. 316, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>.

10<sup>th</sup> gracious favour would much comfort yo<sup>r</sup> good subjects and ease  
you from poverty w<sup>ch</sup> little effort should be yo<sup>r</sup> care & effort.

And yet by our devout prayers to go along this yo<sup>r</sup> great  
king & king shall continue for a blessing to you and all  
and for yo<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> long and happy reigns over us, and for  
yo<sup>r</sup> children's children after you for many and many such a  
generation.

At the Parliament of the Parliament 1621

It is resolved assembled in Parliament being with the presence of the most  
honourable the commons of the Parliament assembled at the great  
magnitude do make the following resolution.

That the letters patent privilege and franchise of the Parliament are  
the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects  
of England, and that the ancient and present affairs touching the  
state and defence of the realm and of the church of England, and the  
maintenance and making of laws and redress of misgovernment  
and decay of the realm, as the subjects and  
matters of debate and debate in Parliament. And that the  
freedom of the subjects, every member of the Parliament of  
and if any ought to cause freedom of speech to be taken that  
and to bring to conclusion the same. And that the members of the  
Parliament shall be free and free to debate of the matters in the  
Parliament. And that the members of the Parliament shall be free  
from all imprisonment, and molestation, distress, damage, or  
detention for or touching any bill, petition, or  
declaration of any matters touching the Parliament or  
business. And that if any of the said members is impeached or  
questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament or  
to be done by advice and counsel of all the members of the  
Parliament before the King's council or any private person.

Fig. 21. MC15 fol. 112<sup>r</sup>.

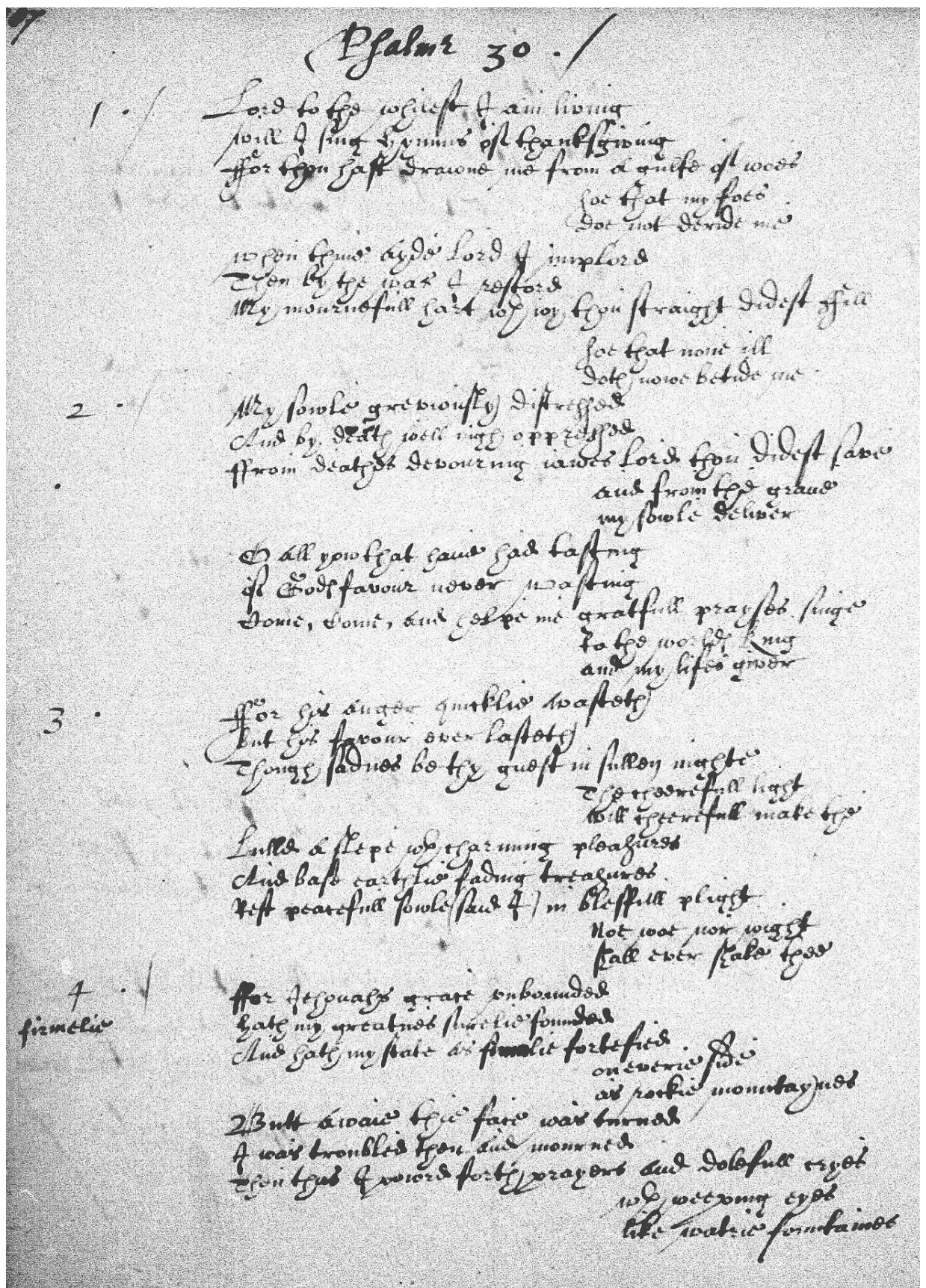


Fig. 22. MC15, 115v.



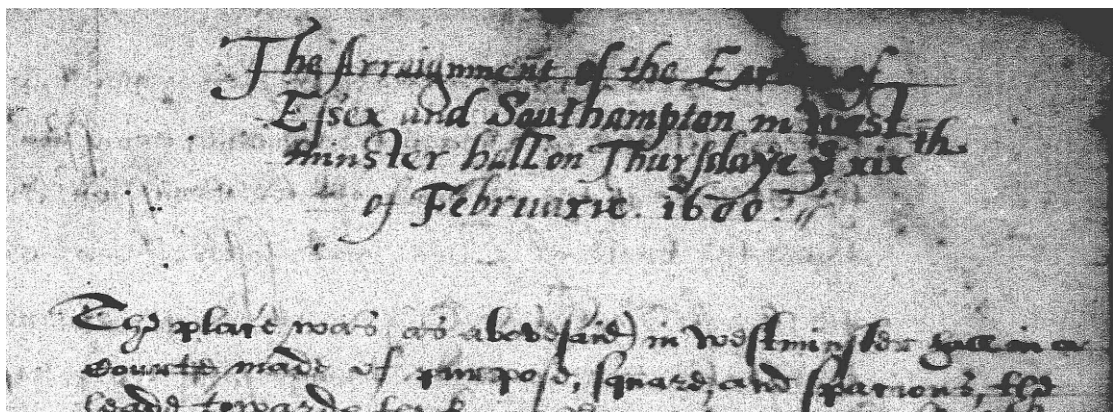


Fig. 23. MC15, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Title in hand A.

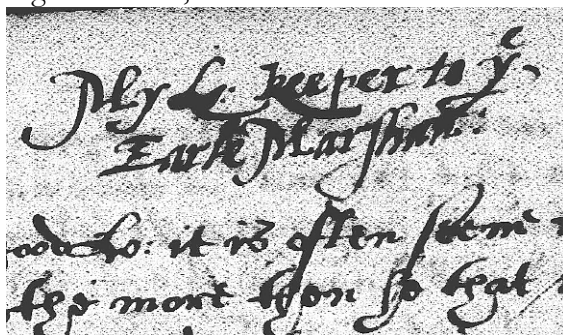


Fig. 24. MC15, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>.

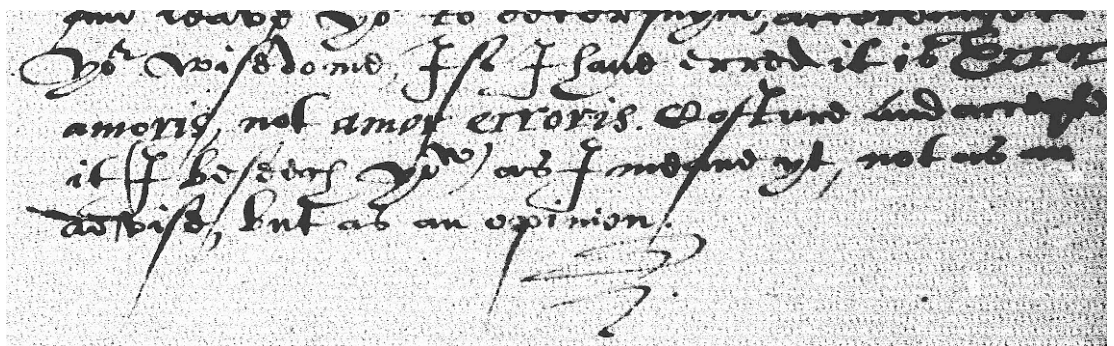


Fig. 25. MC15, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>.

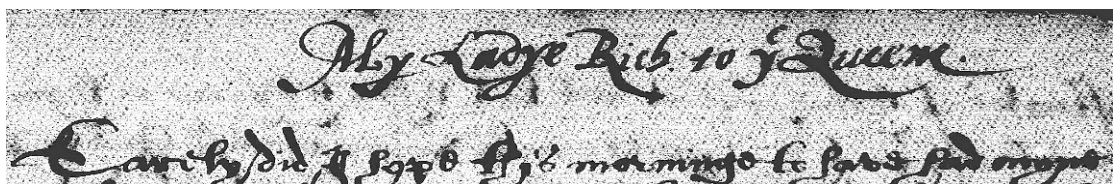


Fig. 26. MC15, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>.





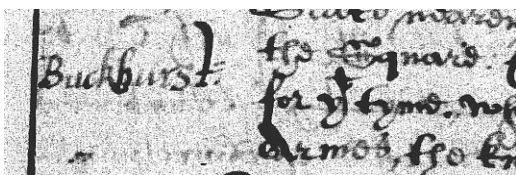


Fig. 30. MC15, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Running head in hand A.

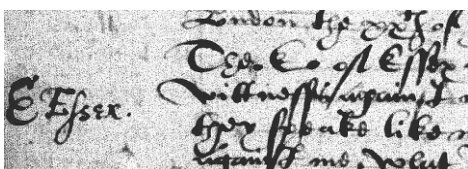


Fig. 31. MC15, 8<sup>v</sup>. Running head in hand A.

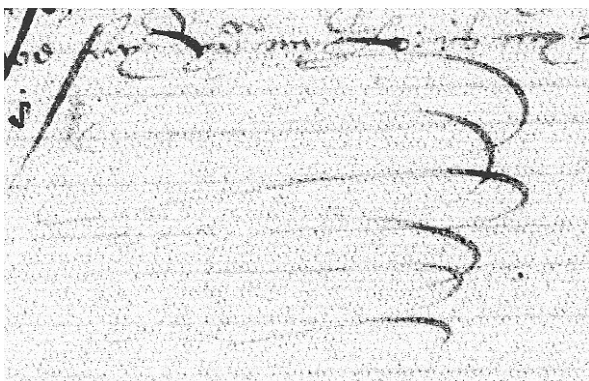


Fig. 32. MC15, 15<sup>r</sup>. Curlicue (with pencil ruling) in hand A.

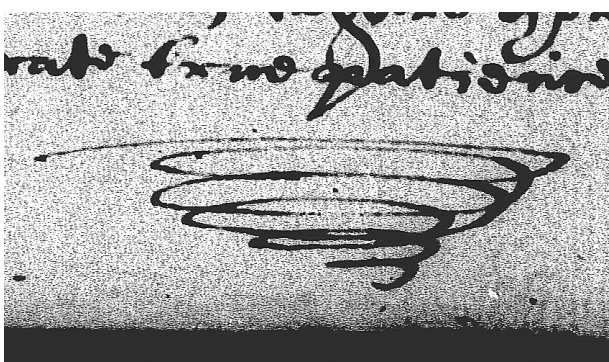
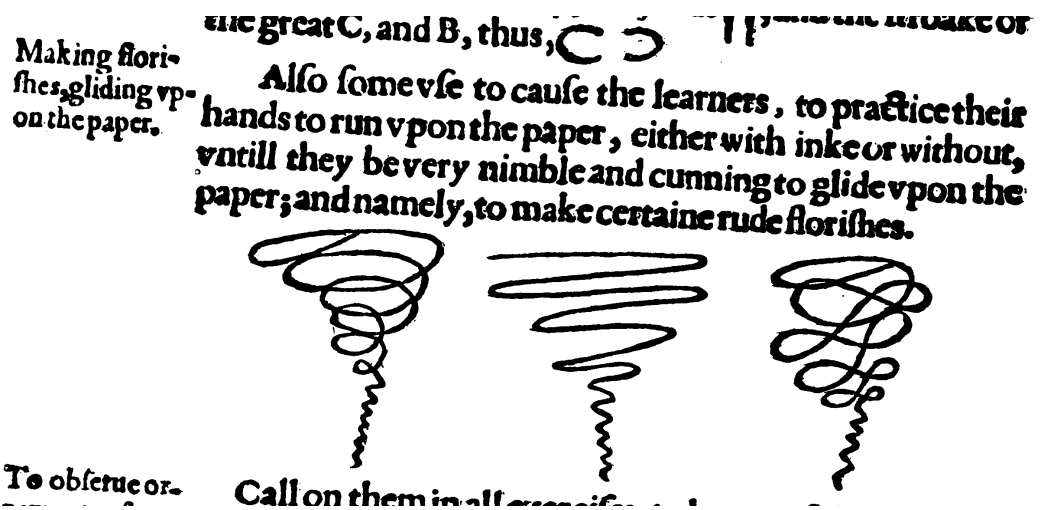


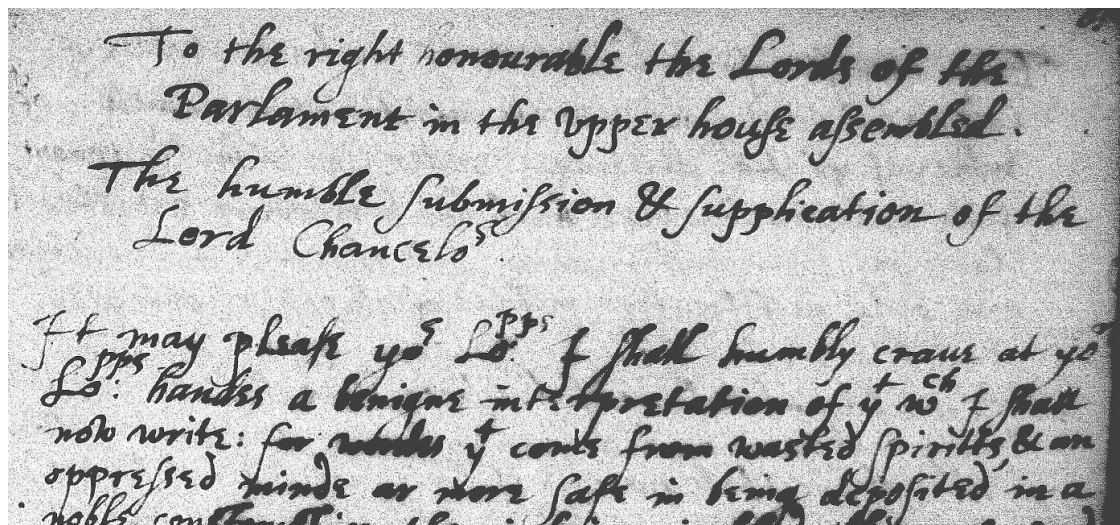
Fig. 33. MC15, 28<sup>r</sup>. Terminal curlicue in hand A.

Fig. 34. Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, p. 36.

S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh to his wife.

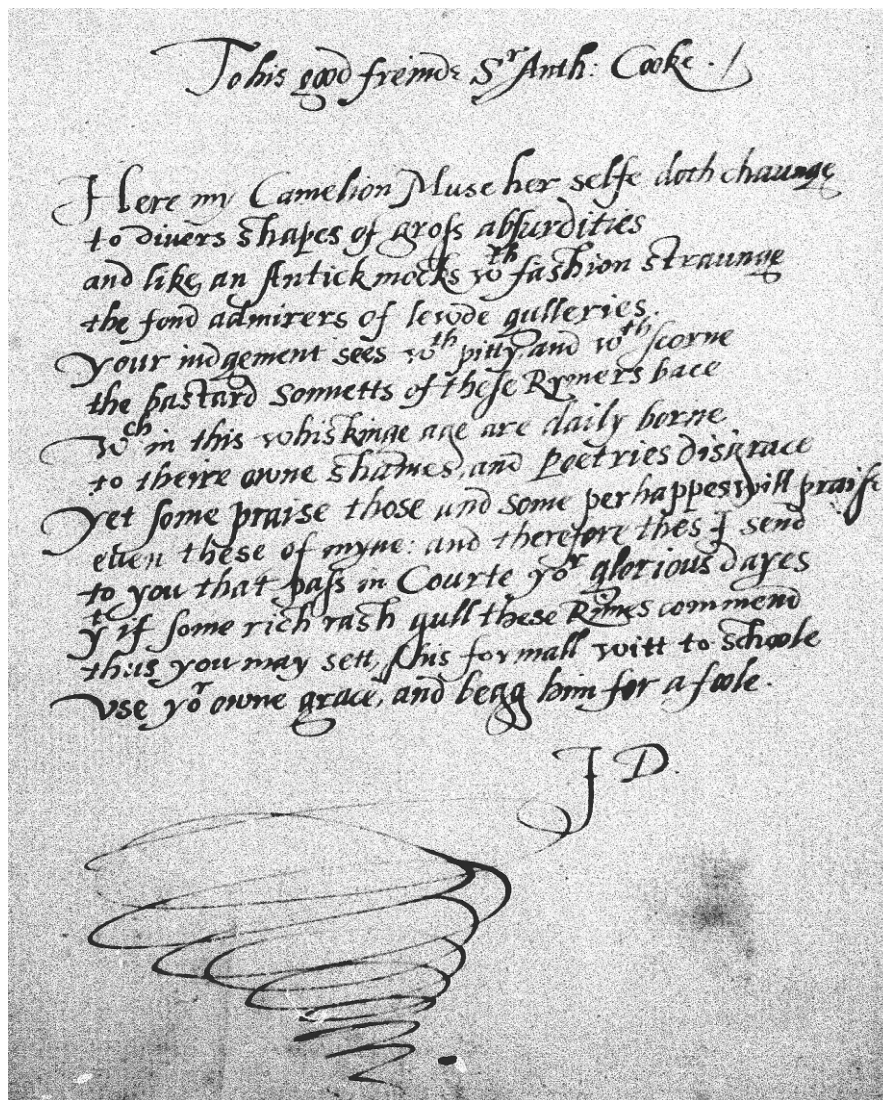
You shall receiue (my deare wife) my last  
 wordes in these my last lines, My loue I sende  
 you & you kepe it when I am dead, and my  
 counsell if you may remember it when I am no more  
 I woulde not w<sup>th</sup> my will present you sorrowes (Deare  
 Besse) let them go to y<sup>e</sup> ground w<sup>th</sup> me and be buried  
 in y<sup>e</sup> dust And being it is not y<sup>e</sup> will of God if euer  
 I shoulde see you more in this life beare my destruction  
 gently, & w<sup>th</sup> a heart like my selfe.

Fig. 35. MC15, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>. Hand D.



To the right honourable the Lords of the  
Parlament in the vpper house assembled.  
The humble submission & supplication of the  
Lord Chancelor.  
It may please yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> I shall humbly craue at yo<sup>r</sup>  
Lo<sup>ps</sup> hands a benigne int<sup>r</sup>pretation of y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I shall  
now write: for w<sup>ch</sup> it comes from wasted spiritts & an  
oppressed minde as more safe in being deposited in a  
nobles countenance.

Fig. 36. MC15, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>. Hand D.




To his good freinds S<sup>r</sup> Anth: Cooke . /  
Here my Camelson Muse her selfe doth chaunge  
to diuers shapes of gross absurdities  
and like an Antick mocks y<sup>e</sup> fashion & traunne  
the fond admirers of leude galleries.  
Your iudgement sees y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>ty</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> scorne  
the fastard Sonnetts of these Rymeres hace  
w<sup>ch</sup> in this rohis kinge are are daily borne  
to there owne shames, and poetries disgrace  
Yet some praise those and some perhappes will praise  
euen these of myne: and therefore thes I send  
to you that pass in Courte y<sup>e</sup> glorious dayes  
If some rich rash y<sup>e</sup>ll these Rymes commend  
thus you may sett this for mall witt to schoule  
vse y<sup>e</sup> owne grace, and beag him for a sale.  
J.D.  


Fig. 37. MC15, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>, the dedicatory 'Gulling Sonnet'.

*In Valuum. 14.*  
 Comert & wangen is not valuer  
 for I'm that darts not fyt to 4. of oymf

*In Gildum. 15.*  
 Gildus at feastes dote fulls, and rarer, and gall  
 at o'ers of wold the wille yd I'm. fyt bitt  
 to I'm I'm best & bitt wante must of all  
 to I'm I'm fyttings to myr fyt speaks not with.

*In Combu Contradictorem. 16.*  
 I say fyt Combus is hole leavind and rife  
 for vekat soars I say I'm fyt dympt,

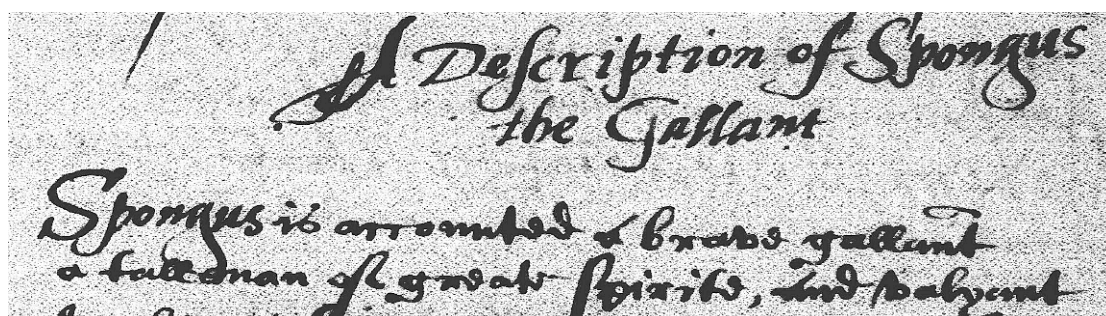
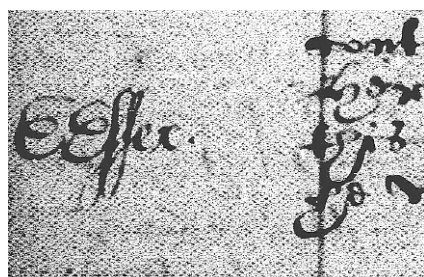
*In eunem.*  
 Combus of any fyt darts bittly speaks  
 fyt may be leavind fyt or with be yoll  
 fyt & bittly fyt fyt darts fyt nerts to breake  
 downe any bittly fyt fyt fyt it not.

Fig. 38. MC15, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>.

*Epigrammes. 11.*  
*In Baldu. 1.*  
 Baldu did never fyt fyt fyt fyt fyt  
 fyt at eare fyt fyt fyt fyt fyt fyt

Fig. 39. MC15, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.



Fig. 40. MC15, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.Fig. 41. MC15, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>.Fig. 42. MC15, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.Fig. 43. MC15, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.

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